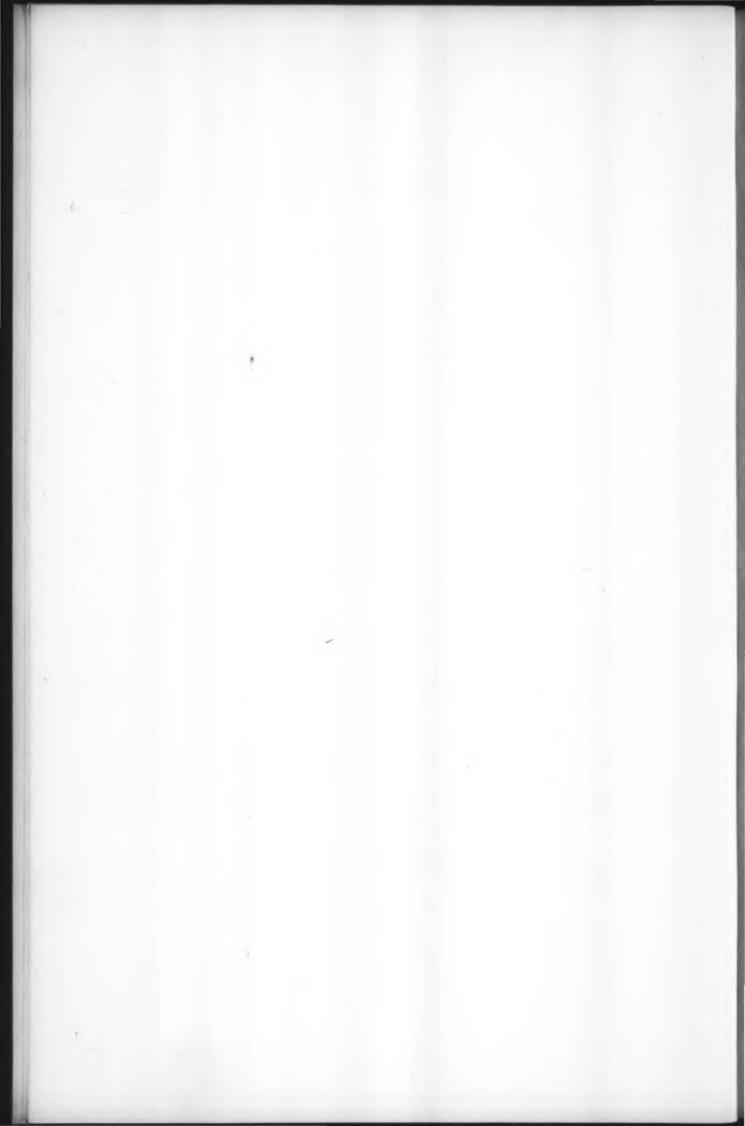
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# THE OTHER SIDE of THE SOUTH,

By ELVY E. CALLAWAY



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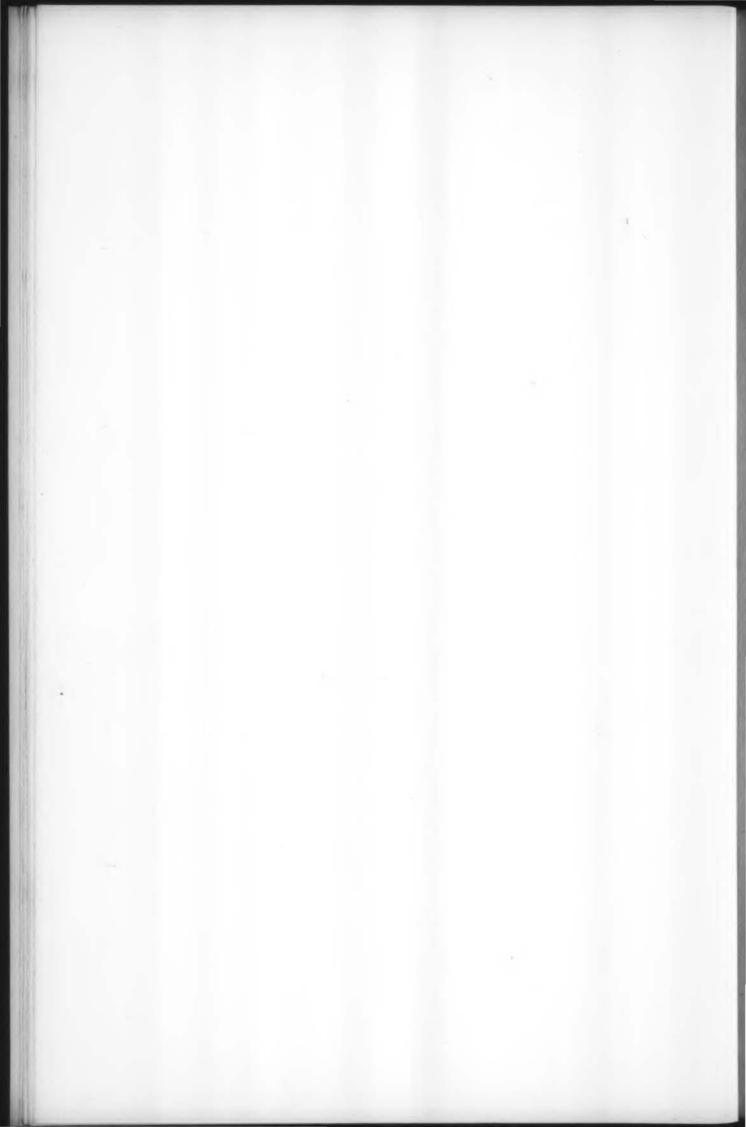
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THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SOUTH
By ELVY E. CALLAWAY



#### DEDICATION

This book, The Other Side of the South, is dedicated to the memory of those intelligent, brave and courageous men and women of the South who loved the Union, and who suffered ostracism and torture rather than help to dissolve the country they loved. That such existed in larger numbers than history records is a fact.



#### INTRODUCTORY

TO ENABLE the reader to better understand and A appreciate this book, he should have a brief introductory into the feelings, history and environments of the author. My fourth great grandfather moved to this country from England in 1672, settling first in Virginia, and then in 1712 he moved to Georgia. At Weogufka, Alabama, in what is known as the Weogufka Baptist Church burial ground are buried my father, grandfather, great grandfather and great great grandfather. I was born and reared on a farm which surrounds the above church and gravevard, which farm my mother, brothers and sisters still own. I became a member of this Church when fourteen years of age; I was educated in the South: have practiced law in the South for twenty years; am a republican in politics and served as Chairman of the State Committee of Florida for several years; was a delegate to the National convention in 1928 which nominated Mr. Hoover for President. admit that I know the South, its geography, climate, resources, customs, traditions, religions, politics. have traveled and studied not only the South, but every section of the Western Hemisphere. I know what the other sections of my own country think of the South, and its people; and I know what the South thinks of the rest of the country. In this book I propose to discuss the resources, climate, health conditions, religions, politics, superstitions, customs, prejudices, history, traditions, society, races, prohibition,

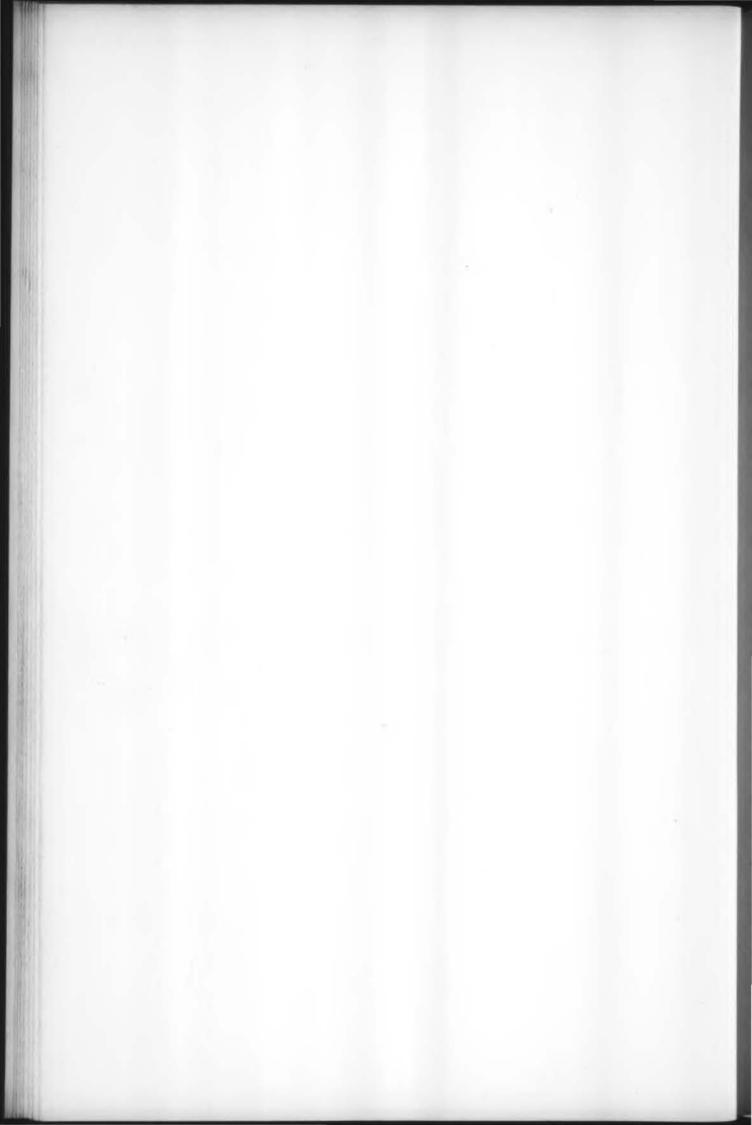
#### INTRODUCTORY

prison system, jury system, K. K. K. educational system, economics, opportunities and other subjects of and concerning the South, and in a fearless, but I hope, interesting and helpful manner. I shall try to help my people of the South see themselves as others see them, and at the same time furnish a mirror from which the North, through reflection, may see the OTHER SIDE OF THE SOUTH. I hope, also, to correct some of the opinions and viewpoints of the North in regard to the South. In discussing these various subjects, I shall have but one objective in view, that the good of my country, and if what I shall say within these pages shall contribute in any substantial degree to a better understanding, finer appreciation and closer friendships between the peoples of all sections of my country; if it shall help to do away with prejudice, remove injustice and decrease unhappiness, then I shall be satisfied. The measure in which I may accomplish this, I humbly submit to the enlightened Bar of future public opinion.

AUTHOR.

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#### CHAPTER I

#### RESOURCES

THE SOUTH is the richest part of our great country in natural resources. Here is everything to please and prosper man. Less than one-tenth of the minerals of the South have been chartered, but those which are designated offer unlimited opportunities. Among the vast mineral resources of the South, the development of which offer unusual possibilities, are the following: coal, iron of many varieties, limestone, petroleum, sulphur, gypsum, marble, copper, silver, granite, travertine, aluminum, asbestos, asphalt, barytes, buxite, cement, many kinds of clays, emery, feldspar, fuller's earth, graphite in large quantities, grindstone, lead, lime, manganese, mica, millstones, peat in unlimited quantities, phosphate rock, pyrites, quicksilver, salt, many sands and gravel, silica sands, talc, slate, marle, kaolin, flint, chalk and many other commercial minerals, as well as gold and precious stones.

The timber resources of the South are still beyond comprehension. There are vast forests of pine, oak, cypress, hickory, gum, cedar and other hardwoods. There has been criminal waste of the timber resources of the South, but there are still vast millions of acres of virgin timber, and the soil, moisture and climatic conditions are so favorable that when we learn to quit setting out fires, the timber will be replenished rapidly.

There has been tremendous development of the water resources of the South during the past two decades, but a great deal of the potential water-power of the South still runs undeveloped to the sea.

The climate of the South is equitable, yet bracing, and is conducive to good health, and mental and physical efficiency.

There are millions and millions of acres of lowpriced, but very fertile and productive lands; vast quantities of building materials of all kinds, and transportation and communication in the building. These vast resources and opportunities are undeveloped. The young people of the South are entitled to the opportunities and the rewards that will come in the development of them, and the young people of the North, and the rest of the country, are entitled to come and help develop them and to share in the rewards. The young men and young women of the South realize at last that to develop these vast natural resources and advantages, they need the friendship, the help and co-operation, as well as the capital, of the boys and girls of the North; and the boys and girls of the North need to come and help to share in this wonderful enterprise.

## CHAPTER II CONTRAST IN GROWTH

THE PEOPLE of the South have watched the people I of the North and East move Westward by the millions and undertake the development of those far distant states; have watched them span the deserts and tunnel the mountains with railways, highways, and airways three thousand miles from home; and build cities and factories costing untold billions of dollars, and this in the face of barriers of rivers, deserts and mountains which were once considered almost insurmountable, while the South has remained almost comparatively in its primeval state; its population increasing almost entirely by natural procreative forces. When we contrast the differences in resources, climate and natural advantages, and the proximity of the South and West to the centers of population and wealth, and then the differences of the development and growth of the two sections, the boys and girls of the South are wondering and asking themselves today, why this difference? What are the reasons? There are reasons, and they are man-made. They can and will be removed. The best interests of both North and South, as well as that of our entire country, demand that they be removed. They were created by misunderstanding and by selfish political leaders, both North and South, and have been kept existent for the same reasons. The young people of the South in ever increasing numbers have sensed

the differences, and are comprehending the reasons, and are in increasing numbers determined that the reasons shall be removed, that the differences shall cease, and that the South shall develop and grow in the future as its natural advantages and resources shall warrant; that the boys and the girls of both the South and the North shall enjoy the opportunities and reap the rewards. The best interests of our entire country demand it. Our population is increasing over a million each year; there is a congestion and confusion in many of the large cities of the North; there opportunities are limited and the social, political and economic securities are being threatened, while here in this great Southland is opportunity awaiting them. My message to the young people of the North is,-"Come South. It is a land of hope and opportunity where you can find contentment and comfort."

It is axiomatic and many times confirmed by history that economic progress must be preceded by freedom,—intellectual, social and political. That the South has not enjoyed continuously, since the Civil War, intellectual and political freedom, I admit. For many years a man had to conform to the notions and rituals of the Protestant Church, and usually the Baptist or Methodist Church at that; and to affiliate with the Democratic party in order to even make a decent living,—much less succeed in the social, political and economic life of the community. This is a strong indictment of my people, but it is true. Those who have been and are most guilty will yet deny that it was true, and they will seek to justify their perfidy by claiming that those who differed with them did not

#### CONTRAST IN GROWTH

merit better. Such is ignorance and intolerance. No finer evidence could be offered in support of this indictment than the sad experience in the past of thousands of brave and courageous men and women who, by their acts, sought to disprove it. And if this is not convincing, an examination of the records disclosing the cost of government and the inefficiency as well as the economic condition of a vast majority of the people of some of the Southern states for many years after the Civil War is proof enough. Intellectual and political slavery, and finally physical slavery and oppression, are the inevitable consequences of ignorance and intolerance; and intellectual and political freedom, as well as physical opportunity and development are the inescapable blessings that flow from education and culture. The immortal Grady said in Boston after the Civil War, "When Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Act your victory was made assured, for he then converted your cause to one of human liberty, against which the arms of man cannot prevail." When an educational system was established in the South for the masses of the people, our victory was then made assured, for our cause was then converted to one of intelligence and culture against which the forces of intolerance and oppression could not prevail.

For many years after the Civil War the South was cursed with religious superstition and political oppression, but thanks to the sympathy of the North, the indomitable hope and courage of a substantial minority in the South and the eternal ever-present law of progress, that condition has changed. We

have been in the wilderness, and many of our people have been hard to teach; and others were of but little faith, but we have arrived at last in sight of the "promised land," and we have had a goodly report, and we are now ready to go over and possess it. That there are yet enemies to conquer, and obstacles to overcome,—we do not deny; but these will furnish the character and stamina which we will need to succeed. Sympathy, charity and breadth of love and character have very largely superseded superstition and ritualistic forms in religion, and the masses of the people are now studying and debating political economy and the science of government, and are fast coming to understand the value and importance of the two-party system of government in a democracy.

#### CHAPTER III

#### SECESSION

THE CIVIL WAR grew out of the question of I slavery. It is conceded that many of the states when they ratified the constitution accepted as a fact that they had the right to withdraw from the Union, at will, but it must also be admitted that no state would have attempted to withdraw for the sole purpose of testing its legal right to do so. The South attempted to withdraw because it felt that it was necessary to do so in order to maintain the institution of human slavery. Its disappointment concerning this issue furnished the motive to attempt to assert that which it considered its legal right. The majority of the people of the South at that time regarded human slavery as not only legally permissible but morally right. Such a conception was supported by the Church, and taught from the pulpit. But let it be said to the credit of the South, that a substantial minority in the South regarded slavery as both legally and morally wrong; and another large number loved the Union above the price of a slave, and both groups freed their slaves voluntarily before the war. own great-grandfather owned 103 slaves and he freed them voluntarily in 1856. He had come to recognize the institution of human slavery as being morally and legally wrong, and he loved the Union, and he visioned what was coming concerning both issues. The minority who loved the Union, and who came to re-

gard slavery as wrong, and, as an institution of the past, suffered more than history records. They suffered many times more than the majority who rushed to the front at the call of the politicians to "lick the Yankees before breakfast." To be able to fight for what one believes is right is one of the highest compensations which comes to a brave man, but to love a country and then be denied the right to defend it, there is no worse punishment. Such was the suffering of those noble patriots in the South who loved the Union and who also regarded slavery as morally wrong. Such was the suffering of my own paternal grandfather. And to add to their suffering, many times they were referred to as cowards, and were mobbed by fanatics who followed the dictates of the politician and agitator. My grandfather related to me an incident which took place during the war. A man by the name of Teel had married one of his sisters. Teel was a radical secessionist, and my grandfather was opposed to secession. Teel hated him for this reason, and one night organized a mob to go and whip my grandfather. When they entered my grandfather's home and began to abuse him, a negro boy whom he had liberated several years before but who was still living with him, handed him a stick which he had gotten from the woodpile, poking it through the crack of the log house in which he was living, saying at the time, "Here, Master Bill, take this and knock Hell out of them." With this weapon, which his former slave handed him, he defended himself against the mob of which his sister's husband was leader.

#### SECESSION

When we view the issues of that period from our present perspective, we are inclined to be severe in our judgments, especially is this true when we consider the great appeal and depth of sympathy, logic and wisdom of Lincoln in his first inaugural address, but such should not be our attitude. We should try to understand and consider their background, the foundation for which they had but little to do with making. We should not overlook the fact that people do not change their moral, religious and political opinions overnight, unless some great natural or national crisis intervenes. Especially is this true if the change is opposed by their leaders in whom they have confidence. Many of the leaders may know that the change would be beneficial, but for selfish reasons they oppose removing the landmarks. Equally as many of the slave ships landed on the soil of New England, as in Virginia. The climate and industrial conditions of New England made the slave laborer with his limited intelligence, unprofitable. The North therefore sold him to the cotton planter of the South. It takes skill and intelligence to operate complicated machines, and it takes a much higher degree of intelligence to raise and market profitably, corn, vegetables, potatoes, fruits and livestock than it does cotton. Cotton will stand more neglect and abuse than any other farm crop, and for this reason the unskilled negro slave could be used to better advantage in the South than in the North. The majority of sentiment in the North against slavery did not develop until free labor in the North had to compete with slave labor in the South. Economic competition gave birth

to the conviction that slavery was morally wrong. When men began to reason independent of economic selfishness, and to a measure in harmony with economic best interest, it was not long until their senses of moral justice demanded the liberation of the slave. They could then understand that the "Nation could not live half free and half slave." The North began to condemn that which had theretofore been considered right. The power of suggestion is a potent force, and when the North openly advocated the abolition of slavery, many people of the South began to debate the question, and a sentiment for abolition found favor with a substantial minority in the South, even in opposition to what they had theretofore considered their economic best interest. It must also be admitted that that period was the border line between the legal and moral recognition and the legal and moral condemnation of slavery throughout the earth. Many people in the North, and a majority in the South, therefore, found justification in the past. And we must not forget that our country was still within the shadow of early colonization, and that the primary motive which brought our forefathers to these shores was that they might worship God according to their consciences, His will and judgment being evidenced, as they believed, in the Bible. They were taught, and the South believed that the Bible was the Word of God, and that its teachings, as they had been taught to interpret it, did not condemn, but on the contrary approved and recognized the institution of human slavery. They had read many passages in the Old Testament which they understood to sanction slavery,

and they had also read the words of Christ in the New Testament when He said, "Servants be obedient unto your masters." The negro was an alien race, and they believed that the Bible recognized and approved the ownership of aliens as slaves or servants. It was so taught from a majority of Southern pulpits. The minority in the South, therefore, who came voluntarily before the war to feel that Slavery was morally wrong, rose above the accepted moral and religious conceptions of that day, and many of them did this even in the face of great financial sacrifices to themselves.

The man whose sense of morality and human justice is highly developed, is shocked many times at the injustice and inhumanity which he encounters. That we have had such men in ever increasing numbers is the finest hope of mankind. The strongest evidence of the evolution of man is that throughout every age and generation there appears in some mysterious way men and women of deep emotions and peculiar visions and senses of moral and human justice to lead us away from the false and cruel customs of the past and on to higher conceptions of our relations to each other.

The benefits which have come to the negro by reason of his emancipation are beyond description. When we look back not only to his condition under slavery, but to that of the white man whose legal property he was, we can hardly comprehend the limited sense of justice of that day and age. But who can say that within a few generations those who come after us will look back upon the social and economic injustices of our age with the same emotions? The

condition of the negro is still very unsatisfactory, but bad as it is, it is no less serious than that of millions of industrial slaves throughout the land, both North and South. I believe that the future of the negro in this country is one of grave responsibility to the white man, but it is no less serious than that of the social, political and commercial leadership to the masses of our people. The progress which the negro has made in the short span of seventy-five years challenges the admiration of mankind. That his progress has been retarded on account of the prejudices of the white man of the South and misunderstanding of the white man of the North to the serious detriment of both races, both North and South, must be admitted.

#### CHAPTER IV

### UNDERSTANDING IS HOPE OF THE FUTURE

THE SOUTH and the North must recognize two I fundamental facts: The South must recognize that the negro must be freed of disease and that his health and physical condition must not be secondary to that of the white man, and that he must be educated. I mean educated in the full and broad sense of the term. The North must recognize that the negro is a different race; that the difference between the two races is so basic, fundamental and permanent that no man-made notions, customs and decrees can bridge it; that the physical, chemical, psychological and emotional differences are such that there can never be an amalgamation of the two races without ruin to both. I am not unfamiliar with the technical opinion on this subject, and that some recognized authorities claim that they are biologically the same, but I have lived in the South for forty-three years, and I have studied carefully this question from every angle. I do not mean by this that it is not possible to develop a great negro, and I certainly favor such, but what I do mean is that this fundamental fact must be recognized by both races, North and South, before we can rightly solve, to the betterment of both races, this most vital question.

The first problem that must be undertaken towards the development of the negro race is to free him of

communicable disease, and especially venereal disease. That a very large percentage of them in the South are afflicted with some form of this disease cannot be denied, and was more than confirmed by the examination of the negro boys for the selective service during the war. Venereal disease is the great blight and curse of the negro of the South. It limits his physical, mental and moral strength and capacity. The white man is responsible for his affliction with this curse, and if the white man shall be forgiven at the Bar of Future Public Opinion for this sin, he will acknowledge his responsibility to lead the movement in freeing the negro of it. My twenty-five years' experience as a lawyer in the South has convinced me beyond all question of doubt that venereal disease is responsible for at least seventy-five per cent of the crime, and all of the assault cases committed by the Southern negro, and that it lowers his physical, mental and moral capacities to a much greater extent than many people realize. It is a tragedy that the responsible white leadership has not understood this sooner. What about the crime and delinquency among the white people? Some day, I hope, we will cast off ignorance and prejudice and stop quackery, and then we will be in sight of Heaven. The white man has not dealt fairly with the negro in regard to the social The white man has held the negro man to question. a strict rectitude of conduct towards the white woman, and I agree that no other course could be tolerated, while the white man has many times invaded the sanctity of the negro's home, and this infamy has been condoned by custom and public opinion. Many lead-

#### UNDERSTANDING IS HOPE OF THE FUTURE

ing white girls have married white men whose reputations for inter-racial promiscuity they knew to be bad, and many wives have overlooked the degeneracy in their husbands in crossing racial bounds, while these women applauded their husbands and brothers who mobbed the negro who made social advances toward them. This is a terrible indictment against the white man, but it is nevertheless true. Let it be said to the credit of both races that this practice is fast passing, and to the negro, as much if not more than to the white man, is the credit due.

Several years ago in eastern Mississippi and western Alabama there was a prominent white family consisting of three brothers whose attitude concerning the social relations between the races was very wrong. The attitude of some of their older relatives had also been wrong. These boys were prominent planters and business men and had the respect of most of the leading people of the community. One day a negro came to my office and complained about the way in which one of these boys was treating him. He said that while he was off in his farm at work, this white man would visit his wife. The negro sat in my office and cried while telling me about this. He loved his wife, and he knew the advantage the white man was taking of him, but he realized his inability to resist him. It was a Saturday morning. That afternoon the white man came to town, and when I saw him on the street I asked him to go with me to my office, that I had something to tell him. When we reached my office I said to him, "I am not making any charge against you, but a certain negro whom you know has

been to see me this morning and he says that while he is away from his home in the field at work, you visit his home. He loves his wife and he is deeply hurt over this, and if his suspicions are correct and you keep it up, I fear that he is going to kill you. It isn't right for you to invade the sanctity of that negro's home, and you should realize that he is not going to take the matter into court, and as a friend I beg you to cut it out." He assured me that there was not any foundation for the negro's suspicions, and he left. The next Monday he went back to the negro's home, doubtless thinking that he was off in the farm, and when he entered the negro's yard he was shot down and killed. His brothers organized a mob to kill the negro, but a prominent white planter, neighbor of the dead man, who knew what had been going on, hid the negro in the cellar of his home and took care of him there for several weeks until the mob died down, and then arranged for him to leave at night and go to Chicago. In the meantime the mob began to drink and some of its members ran amuck, killing the negro's legal father without provocation, and burning a negro church, lodge and school. negro loved his wife, and after a few weeks he couldn't resist writing to her. The rural mail carrier discovered where he was and reported it to the authorities, and they went to Chicago and brought him back. He was indicted for murder. I was invited to meet several leading negroes at night to discuss with them their employing me to defend him. They offered me a thousand dollars to defend him, which was a good fee then. I said to them, "Boys, I am in full sympa-

thy with the defendant. He was terribly wronged by the man whom he killed. I tried to prevent it, and warned the man to stay away from his home. I realized that if a white man here had killed another under the same circumstances he would never have been indicted. I would like to take the case and do what I can for him, but I am a young lawyer with a wife and baby, and I haven't any money and I have to live here and support my family. If I were to accept the case, I would do my duty regardless of consequences to me personally, and if I were a single man without dependents I would do so, but since I have a wife and baby I feel that my first duty is to them, and for this reason I cannot take the case." When the case came on for trial, a lawyer was provided who did the best he could under the circumstances. The court house was crowded with men who had gone there with prejudices against the negro. The jury who tried him, as well as the lawyer who defended him, could not help but feel the influence of the situation. He was convicted and sentenced to hang. Within a few days I went to see the Governor and told him what I knew about the case. He granted the negro a stay of execution. The brothers of the dead man became furious and demanded of the Governor that he let the negro hang. The Governor called me back to his office and said to me, "Great pressure is being brought against me to let the negro hang. No appeal was taken, and no petition has been lodged with me for commutation. What am I therefore to do?" I said, "Governor, I have no interest whatever in this case, except that I think the deceased brought

his death upon himself. I warned him to stay away from that negro's home but he wouldn't listen to me. If a white man had killed another under the same circumstances, he would never have been indicted. I have told you the truth, and that is all that I can do. It is your responsibility and you have power and I have not. I believe that he who has power, and does not use it in the interest of justice and mercy, will curse the day that gave him the power." I left him, and within a few days he issued the warrant for the negro's execution. That was an extreme case, but there has been far too many of them for the good of the South. When the South has the intelligence and the courage to rise above such practices, it will be a happy day for our people. The injustice that was done that negro will have to be atoned for, sometime, somewhere. When the negro was on the scaffold he pointed his finger at the brother of the deceased and he said to him, "You know that we are blood of the same blood, brothers with the same Father. Yes, I killed, not your brother, but our brother, and I did it because he sought to take from me that which I valued above my life. I am now ready to die." The result of his execution was terrific. Many thoughtless men who had taken part in the mob who killed his legal father, and burned the school, church and lodge, began to realize their terrible mistake. There can be no stronger evidence that they were mad men than the fact that they burned a church and school, the only agencies for which man's interest has proven himself superior to the brute. I lived in that community long enough for

several of the men who did those things to come to me and state that they were ashamed of their part in it. Their deep repentance could not undo the terrible injustice to the negro, to his father, to his people, and to the community and to the South, but it gave me hope and encouragement that the day would come when this fair Southland would rise above such infamy.

Two years ago in Atlanta, Georgia, many leading women of that beautiful city met and passed resolutions condemning in the strongest language possible mob law and mob violence under any circumstances. To them I bow in most grateful reverence, and to a city that can give birth to such breadth of vision of Southern womanhood, I pray for its eternal happiness and prosperity.

Any executive in this country who recognizes and encourages the mob spirit, regardless of the provocation, is playing with fire. Intelligent and good men and women of the South have fought valiantly to establish and maintain a government by law, and we sincerely trust that our Western brother may not make it more difficult for us.

The negro of the South is practically immune from malaria, hook-worm and other diseases which impose such a heavy burden upon the white race. For these reasons he has been able to live in the most fertile sections of the country. But tuberculosis (the great white plague) exacts from him a heavy toll. This is true because of the unsanitary and crowded condition of his home life, and because of undernourishment in many instances. The providing of proper, sanitary

and attractive houses for the Southern negro constitutes one of the great responsibilities and opportunities for both the negro and the white man. It is a field of unlimited possibilities and rewards. me say in this connection that the integrity of the Southern negro and his recognition of the legal and moral obligation to pay his debts to the very limit of his ability, is not surpassed by any people on the face of the earth. During my business and professional experience they have owed me and my clients lots of money, and it has been my experience that as a rule they regard their obligations earnestly, and that they equal, if they do not surpass, the white people in meeting their debts to the very limit of their ability. It is a pleasure to do business, even on terms, with the average Southern negro, for he is dependable and respects his obligations. In setting up an organization to finance the construction and purchase of homes for Southern negroes anyone can do so with absolute assurance that such operations would be pleasant and profitable. Many Southern negroes are undernourished. This results from no fault of the climate, resources or productive powers of the South, but results from the one crop system of raising only cotton, and because of a limited knowledge of the average negro woman of foods and how to prepare them. The negro's inherent power of resistance against disease, with the single exception of tuberculosis, is greater than that of the white man. He can endure more hardships and undernourishment than the white man, and is more flexible in his nature and habits than the white His health, physical constitution and mental

powers, though depressed for long periods of time, respond in an amazing way to good food, comfortable living conditions and constructive environment. When this problem has been rightly understood and its solution honestly undertaken, and the condition of the Southern negro elevated to where it should be, the compensations which will come to both races, throughout the country, even the material compensations will be beyond our fondest hopes. The material wants and the purchasing power of this vast population has been low in the past. If we will increase their standard of life, their material needs and purchasing power will likewise be increased to the tremendous advantage of both races. The potential productive powers of the Southern negro, intelligently developed and properly directed, has unlimited possibilities not only to bring comfort, health and happiness to his own race, but to advance the best interests of the entire country. The South has unlimited building materials of all kinds, and the negro himself has the labor needed, and to permit this great population to continue to exist in disease breeding hovels and slums, reflects upon the Southern white man more than the negro.

I have said that the negro must be educated. I mean in the full and broad sense of the term. Not from the psychology of selfishness, which has largely permeated the educational system of the white man of our country, but from the viewpoint that a body and mind rightly developed and trained has within it the attributes of peace and happiness, as well as the tools with which to provide from nature's bounty

all necessary material comforts, and to serve humanity in its broadest sense. When the negro has been freed of disease, he is capable of such development and training.

I have said that the North must recognize that the negro is a different race. I realize that in this statement I invite controversy, not in the South, for the South has and does accept it as a fact. I believe that the vast majority of intelligent white people of the North have come with the broadening of their experiences and observations, removed from strife and prejudice, to accept it as a fact, but that there are many intelligent, sincere and honest men and women of the North who still challenge this statement, I also admit. I know that there are many honest and intelligent men and women throughout the world who refuse to recognize any vast natural differences between the races. With them I shall not quarrel, for according to my analysis and interpretation of the forces of nature and the facts of history, they refuse to be convinced by evidence. To argue with such people would only lead to worse confusion. It may be that the various racial groups are capable of equal happiness. In observing the negro for many years I have even wondered if his happiness did not surpass that of the white man. But to be able to attain happiness for itself alone, I do not consider the full measure for judging the qualities of a race. In measuring the standard of a race, like that in measuring the standard of an individual, we should consider not only its capacity to achieve happiness for itself, but also its capacity to limit or entirely overcome its un-

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happiness and to help secure happiness for others. And in so measuring the qualities of a race, or of all races, we must not ignore the facts of history. Resources, climatic and soil conditions greatly influence the quality of a race, but it is in the white man's superior mastery of these as well as in his superior understanding and interpretation of the forces of nature, has he proven himself to be the superior race. I confess that I am a sufficient humanitarian and that my love for my fellow-man of all races and climes is such that I earnestly wish for all races everywhere, the largest measure of progress and happiness of which they are possibly capable of attaining, but so long, and so long only, as they do not impede the progress and happiness of the white race. It should be the purpose of the negro to develop a great negro, such as I knew the late Booker T. Washington to be, and such as I know Dr. Moton, Perry Howard, Roscoe Conklin Simmons and others to be, and not try to merge the negro race with any other. The white man of the North must understand this, and the two races must work harmoniously together, both contributing all that they can to bring it into reality. I have thousands of negro friends, men and women of character and intelligence, and it is gratifying to me that they are in ever increasing numbers beginning to understand this, and that they have grasped the sphere in which the negro as a race can look forward with great hope, and in complete understanding and peace with the white race. The negro has certain traits of character that ennoble any people who possess them. He has others which have retarded

his growth and happiness. Among those endearing characteristics are that he loves music and flowers, is a true and loyal friend, neighbor and employee, and has great respect for law and constituted authority. And as evidence of this statement it can be said in truth and credit to the negro of the South that during the past years of organized gangs and racketeers throughout the country he has kept himself free of organized crime. I gladly pay him this tribute. So far as he knows he loves and respects the social, religious and civil law. He will also make any sacrifices for the things that he believes in. When his religious, intellectual and economic talents are once directed in the proper course, I believe that his future as a race will surpass our fondest expectations. Two of their most serious adverse traits are that they are too often indifferent to their children, and often treat them with extreme cruelty, and the average negro man in the South has not that deep love and devotion to his wife and his children that the men of some other colored races have. He is over-sexed, and his natural impulses lead him into infidelity to his home and family. He has but little of the monogamous nature about him. The negro woman is more devoted to her children, and is less promiscuous than the negro man, but she too is not by nature a monogamist. The negro is possibly the most pronounced sexually of all the races. Climate and foods have doubtless greatly influenced this. When, and if, he ever learns to control his natural desires and emotions, he should find the greatest happiness. In this field he will have to wage his greatest battle. I realize that our social

standards and marriage laws have many imperfections, and I can vision a society and a day that will see great change and improvement, but concern for the best interest of the offspring, and devotion to the motherhood of the race, in more than a sexual sense, is the primary hope of any people. The conditions of slavery under which the negro lived for centuries relieved him of that deep feeling of individual responsibility to wife and children, and seventy-five years is a short period in the life of a race.

I am willing to concede that until the world is wise enough to permit nature to develop towards one race, one language and one religion, and that the religion of humanity, it is doubtful that we shall have "peace on earth and goodwill towards all men." Within the meantime, the people of both North and South, and both races as well, can advance the best interest of their whole country, by frankly conceding the following things: First-That both slavery and secession were wrong; secondly, that Sherman's March to the sea and the methods of reconstruction adopted towards the South were unnecessary and wrong; thirdly, that both the North and the South are brave and are not afraid to fight for what they think is right; fourthly, that this is a white man's country, and that if white supremacy were in danger on one foot of American soil today, the North would spend its last dollar and shed its last drop of blood to preserve it, and that if the loss of one foot of American soil from the Union were in danger today the South would spend its last dollar and shed its last drop of blood to save it.

It is the white man's obligation to the negro to see that right and justice is done; to encourage him in the development of a great negro, a good citizen, and to broaden his opportunity for happiness. All this can be done without in the least jeopardizing the white man's position of leadership among the races of the earth.

# CHAPTER V

## MISTAKES OF RECONSTRUCTION

ITHEN the negro was freed he was forced out into the world without experience to meet the social, political and economic problems which he then had to encounter. He did not have the agencies and the means for independent support and development, even if he had had the experience and training to meet this new responsibility. In order to exist he had to adjust himself to the standards fixed for him by the Southern white man, for he soon learned that the military agencies which had freed him had neither the inclination nor the means to support him. had unwisely and foolishly elevated him to a responsibility and sphere which he was wholly incapacitated for and which, instead of meriting and earning for him the united support, resources and good-will of the South, embittered the South towards him as a race, and his condition was made harder as a result. If the North had had the vision at the close of the war to have recognized the incapacity of the recently freed slaves to govern themselves, much less the incapacity to govern the superior white man, and had accepted in good faith the surrender of the South, and the superior capacity and right of the white man to restore the government and bring about order, and had placed the responsibility of the negro's future welfare upon the white man at that time, much of the antagonisms and bitterness between the two sections which was

reflected upon the negro, would have been avoided, and the negro of the South today would be much further advanced than he is, and he would have escaped much of the neglect and the suffering which he has known. The North assumed the responsibility for the negro's future, and it sought to meet it by placing him in positions which he was wholly unfitted for. When it was sufficiently removed from the influences of hate, it saw the evils of the situation it had created and then it withdrew, but the damage had been done, and it has taken years of patient effort on the part of good men of both North and South to correct this mistake. But that was the price of misunderstanding and war. The attitude of the North in attempting to give the recently freed illiterate negro slave social and political equality with the white man of the South, then sustain him in that equality by military force, resulted in the white man withdrawing his sympathy and support, and in fact made him an antagonist of the negro for years. It also embittered the South towards the North, and this bitterness was reflected upon the negro. When the North was sufficiently removed from the influence and passions of the war, it changed its philosophy in regard to both the negro and the white man of the South, and since then the good-will and sympathy of the South towards the negro has been constantly increasing. As in evidence of this fact the South has modified many of its criminal laws reducing the punishment in case of conviction solely in the interest of the negro. It has also widened his educational and economic conditions. I believe that almost every Southern lawyer will now

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verify that in almost every character of litigation where the negro is an interested party, except only in assault cases upon white women, the courts and juries temper their actions in favor of the negro. Some years ago in a Mississippi county two prominent white boys flogged a negro because he left the employ of their father and hired himself to their competitor. I prosecuted the white boys and selected a jury of leading white planters and they promptly convicted the boys and the court imposed heavy sentences.

Let it be said now to the credit and honor of both the South and the North, that the enlightened conscience of the South has fully repented for the mistakes of secession, and the enlightened conscience of the North has repented for the mistakes of recon-Many sincere good people in the North struction. have felt that the South withheld its sympathy and support from the Negro out of a false conception of the rights of the negro and the responsibility and relation between the races. Many still feel that the Southern white man oppresses the negro. There are only exceptional instances now when this is true. This feeling grows out of these exceptions and from a lack of understanding of all the facts. When intelligent people of the North move South and remain here long enough to grasp and understand the entire facts and the viewpoint of both races, they usually commend the South for its sympathy, patience and support which it gives the Southern negro. I confess that there is room for much improvement, but for our negligence in solving the great social and economic problems not only of the negro of the South.

but of the entire country, the North is just as much, if not more, to blame than the South. If poverty, disease, crime, slums and underprivileged children around us convict us of criminal neglect, and they do to the extent of our ability to correct these things, then we are all guilty, North and South. Our educational system in America has made us the most efficient people on the face of the earth in advancing our innate selfish ambitions. We seek to camouflage our neglect and avarice by our public charities through the mediums of the Church, the Red Cross and the lodges. That the South has a larger degree of affirmative viciousness or conscious lack of sympathy is bunk made of the whole cloth. But we do not have to look any further than to the negro himself for complete exoneration of any indictment against the South in this respect. Last year I traveled over every Northern state and I talked to thousands of negroes, many of them formerly from the South, and while many of them stated to me that their educational and economical advantages in the North were better than in the South, without a single exception they stated that the understanding and sympathy of the Southern white man was better than that of the North, and a vast majority of those who had lived in the South expressed a wish to return. In Chicago I met two negroes whom I had known years ago in Mississippi and they were both anxious to return to Mississippi and I bought them tickets and sent them home. This attitude on the part of the negro who has left the South and gone North I consider the highest compliment that could be paid my beloved Southland.

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has had much to do with my consenting to write this book. It does not mean, and I do not interpret it, that we have discharged the responsibility which we owe these people, but it does mean that the negro himself has visioned a higher responsibility and a finer relationship and better standards and conditions for both races in the South. In my travels through all of the large cities of the North I saw conditions, social, political and economic, even among the negroes who have gone there, which challenge the best thought and the most unselfish service of the leading men and women of the North, no less than the social, political and economic status of the negro in the South challenges the best thought and the highest endeavors of the best men of the South. The press of the South has not exploited the crime, slums and injustice of the North like the Northern press has paraded and exploited the unfortunate situation of the negro of the South. I am truly glad that it has not. this exploitation has even benefited the negro, South or North, I have my serious doubts, and that it has injured the white man both South and North there cannot be any question. There are millions of boys and girls in the North living amidst conditions of uncertainty and doubt, and other millions of little children crowded in slums and hovels, growing up under the constant threat of disease and crime, with the door of opportunity and hope almost closed against them who would come South, or whose parents would bring them South where we have the best climate on earth,-millions and millions of acres of the finest land that lies out of doors, and every resource and

opportunity to bring happiness and plenty, if it were not for a misunderstanding of the facts and conditions here in the South. Millions of them believe that we are still heartless rebel savages without sympathy and without love who crush all helpless things beneath our heels of hate. It seems to me that the time has come when the intelligent, patriotic men and women of the North, in their best interest and that of our entire great country, should rightly and truly present a true picture of the South, its climate, resources and the sympathetic and hospitable character of its people, to these millions now living in the congested centers of the North that they might come to the South and here find health, happiness and comfort.

# CHAPTER VI

## TALENTS OF NEGRO

I Jutil a few years ago it was believed that the negro was unsuited for industrial pursuits. Both races concurred in that belief. The North must have also believed it, for until the World War it found its industrial labor in Europe, rather than in the South. It was a costly find, as has been amply proven in Chicago and many other large Northern cities having foreign populations. It being believed that the negro was unsuited for industrial pursuits he found employment very largely on the farm. What has been his condition as an illiterate agriculturalist compared with that of the same type of white farmer? When we contrast the standard of life of the two in the South for many years after the Civil War we will be more conservative in our criticism. The intelligent planter in the South, be he white man or negro, has fared well, and his standard has increased in the ratio of the progress of science and invention. In fact this type of citizen has lived the happiest and fullest life of any people on this continent. He has not accumulated the most wealth, for wealth has not been his chief objective, but he has without a doubt enjoyed the greatest happiness and rendered the largest service to humanity. Hundreds of thousands of Southern negroes have found happiness and independence in imitating their white brothers. He is flexible in his habits and customs, and adapts himself admirably to

the customs and principles about him, and while he has but little originality about him yet, he is a past master as a conformist, and it has served him well. The North would be surprised, or at least much of it would, if it really understood the warm friendship and deep appreciation which exists between millions of white people and negroes throughout the South. The two races have found their relationship and together they are marching, perhaps slower than even we would like to see, to a higher civilization. It is my earnest desire that millions in the North may come and share these pleasures and rewards that I am constrained to make this appeal. I do not deny that we have fanatics and agitators in both races, but they are not numerous, and are only cross currents and do not stop or discourage the onward march of a great people.

In arriving at the measure in which the white man of the South has discharged his responsibility to the negro, we must not overlook the limitations of the white men. We must also understand and give credit for the progress of both races within the time under consideration. Seventy-five years is a long time within the life of an individual, but it is a very short span within the life of a race or nation. At the beginning of the Civil War the South was almost entirely an agricultural country, with the one crop, cotton. What industrial development there was during the war was for purely military purposes. The war left the South prostrate. The courage and valor of the South in defense of what it considered at the time just and right led its people on to exhaustion. The

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flower of its manhood had been killed. The remnants returned home in rags, without industry, without commerce and without credit. Its cities and fields were in ruin. From the depths of midnight darkness and despair it turned to the soil, its labor freed, the white man almost a stranger to manual toil. The intelligent and industrious prospered; the illiterate, including the negro, survived. What further evidence could be offered of the fertility, productiveness and resources of this great country?

The Bible teaches, and it is good philosophy of life, that "Where there is much, much is required, and where there is little, but little is required." It is by this standard that I would have my Northern friends judge my people in their attitude and conduct towards the helpless colored race since the Civil War. If this shall be the yardstick by which we shall be measured, then, if they shall give credit for the progress which the negro has made in the short period of seventy-five years, we shall find a common faith and sympathy with which to face the future, for when true records have been kept and true facts are understood, they will stand as uncontradictable evidence that, considering the meager facilities and agencies with which we started and the exhausted and depleted condition of our manhood at the close of the Civil War, the progress,-intellectual, spiritual and material, which the South, including the negro, has made,—commands the admiration of the world and is no less brilliant than that of the North.

# CHAPTER VII

## SETTLEMENT OF OLD SOUTH

BELIEVE that my readers will appreciate a brief but different picture of the Old South, following the Civil War, and then travel with its progress up to the dawn of what I believe to be the finest civilization in human history. The topography of the South is varied and interesting. Its diversity of mountains, broken, hilly and coastal plains, prairies and fertile river valleys, as well as hummocks and jungle lands, all present a variety of resources and climate conducive to independence. Until science discovered the cause and methods of preventing yellow fever and malaria, the fertile prairies and river valleys were slow in developing, for the white man found it extremely difficult to live there. The great Piedmont area in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama, though hilly or rolling and with broken agricultural lands, having an unusually fine climate throughout the year and an abundance of good water, offered the best place for settlement. The Piedmont lands, though rolling, when properly managed, produce in an abundance and fine quality all kinds of farm crops, fruits, grasses and timber. In view of the character of the water and its rapid movement, this section has ever been almost free of yellow fever and malaria. The dominant crop in this section, as throughout the South, has been cotton, yet by reason of its adaptableness to varied agriculture and horticulture, has

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always produced for home consumption much of the corn, oats, rye, potatoes, vegetables, melons, tobacco, apples, peaches, plums, quince, berries and grapes that it has consumed.

Even before science conquered fever, man's restless and explorative ambition led him to seek to conquer the prairies, the valleys and the jungle. Often he did this, while he left his family in the higher Piedmont. It was soon discovered that the negro was practically immune against the fevers of the low lands, and that he could live healthily where the white man would perish. It was by reason of this fact that the colored population largely predominates in many of the richest and most fertile sections of the South. This is true in Eastern North and South Carolina, Southern Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi and in the Mississippi Delta of Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, and in Eastern Texas. These rich valley and Delta lands being in large level bodies, and being low in price, man's inherent ambition led him to grasp these in as large acreage as he could get, and then to develop and cultivate them with negro labor. The negro could withstand the The white man first established a camp for headquarters, and then negro quarters. Later it was discovered that the white man and his family could live on the plantation in safety during certain seasons of the year, being the season when the mosquito was dormant or inactive, and this lead to the building of the family mansion on the plantation. Here the white family spent a part of the fall, winter and spring seasons, and then they returned to the Piedmont

during the summer. Later, towns and cities grew up and most of the families lived in the towns. When science eradicated yellow fever, and found the cause and methods of preventing malaria, it was soon learned that health conditions were just as desirable on the prairies and in the delta and valleys, as in the Piedmont. Cotton being the primary crop, and the rich deltas and valleys being peculiarly adapted to the growing of this staple, and the negro being more suited for the raising of cotton than for the growing of varied agriculture, he found conditions a little more attractive on the large cotton plantations at a little less effort than in remaining to develop individual initiative in the Piedmont section. The level valleys being in large bodies, and harder and more expensive to develop, the negro followed the lines of least resistance and very largely satisfied himself with a tenancy status. Cotton being almost exclusively the only crop, the people of this great rich area, both white and colored, bought almost everything they consumed from other sections of the country. bought grain and hav from the North and Middle West, mules from Missouri and Minnesota, clothing and shoes from New England, and meats from St. Louis and Chicago. This condition continued until the boll weevil came. With it came Mother Necessity, and she soon gave birth to a new order. Just as the revolution in Russia gave birth to a new economic force throughout the world, which the world has not yet fully comprehended, the coming of the boll weevil in the South gave birth to a new economic force in this country, that the West and North, and especially

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the grain and live-stock belt of the Middle West does not yet fully comprehend. Just as long as the South had but one industry of raising cotton and had a monopoly throughout the earth on this industry, the South furnished a market for the manufactured and farm products of the North and West. But when the cotton weevil came and injected the element of uncertainty that required intelligence and skill in the profitable production of cotton, and the South began to face competition in this industry from foreign countries, Mother Necessity stepped in and began to diversify and develop Southern agriculture and industry. When we realize the favorable soil and moisture conditions, and an almost twelve months growing season in the South, we can begin to understand the meaning of this new order. When the waterways and highway systems are completed to the centers of population in the East, and with a realization that the political and financial conditions in Europe are such that our export trade in the future must expand with the Latin American Countries south, and with the Orient through the Panama Canal, we can appreciate that men and women with vision will not discount the opportunities of the South much longer.

The rich agricultural sections of the South were supported almost entirely up to the Civil War by slave labor. The white slave owners did not work, and especially they did not perform manual labor. It was considered disgraceful for a white man to work in the field, or for a white woman to do her housework. After the emancipation of the slaves, there grew up in many of these sections a modified form of

servitude. Several states, acting under the influence of the white plantation owners, enacted criminal statutes making it a crime for a tenant who had made a written contract to cultivate certain lands for a given period, to leave the landlord or to abandon the contract before it expired, or while in debt to the landlord for rent or advances. These statutes were enforced for many years, and during that time there were many instances of oppression. Finally the Supreme Court of the United States declared all such statutes unconstitutional and void. For many years after the Civil War in the sections under discussion, it was a complete bar to the most exclusive social circles for white people not to have negroes to do the farm and house work. People who could not or did not afford negro servants were known as "Sagers." They in turn named the negro who was free in name but not in fact, "nigger," and there was considerable embarrassment between the "sagers" and the "niggers." When the cotton boll weevil came and injected the element of risk or uncertainty into the raising of cotton to such an extent that the financial leadership of the South would not continue to pour out money for agricultural failures, and when the World War came and created a demand for negro labor in the industrial North to the extent that hundreds of thousands of negroes left the so-called "black belt" and went North, these things brought to the white planter all kinds of new problems that have resulted in complete revolution and change in the South. Up until that time it had been accepted in good circles that it was a disgrace for a white man or woman to have

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to work. Labor and servitude were synonymous terms. The negro had been the laborer, and the white man and woman who used him had come to think of labor as degrading. The coming of the cotton boll weevil and the leaving of thousands of negroes for the North brought many of the white aristocracy to a realization that they could either work or starve. What a glorious blessing the boll weevil has proven to be. Many people accepted the new order cheerfully, and began to reshape their social and economic conditions. They have made progress, and will continue to do so. But there was another substantial number who believed in the "Divine Rights of Lords and Ladies," and they felt that the negro was created for the specific purpose of making it possible for them to remain Lords and Ladies. They first mortgaged their inheritances to the local banks. The banks tired of carrying them, and persuaded them to refinance their loans with the Federal Land Banks and with the insurance companies. A small percentage of these finally got down to work and redeemed their homes, but most of them were so hopelessly lost in their ego and pride that they refused to adjust themselves to the new philosophy, and after awhile the Federal Land Banks and the insurance companies who held their mortgages lost confidence that they would ever pay, and they foreclosed and took the land. This is why the Federal Land Banks and the insurance companies have millions of acres of the finest land in the South today. All that this land needs to bloom and blossom like the Rose of Sharon is intelligent, industrious and happy people to possess and till it. Some

few of the larger plantation owners subdivided their holdings into small farms and sold them to farmers of other states and to many colored people who remained in the South. There is not the slightest doubt that the new order will prove to be the beginning of great prosperity and happiness in the South. To live in idleness and luxury off of other people's toil is not only degenerating, but it develops a spirit of cruelty and inhumanity. Like the Egyptians, it has taken wars and pestilence to teach some of the people of the South to release the negro from bondage.

There is a large area along the rivers and coasts of the South which was designated by the Government as "swamp and overflow lands." For many years these were considered of but little or no value. An examination of the early policy of the Government will bear out this statement. Much of these lands were inundated most of the year, and before the day of modern drag lines and modern machinery were inaccessible. They also constituted an expensive problem in the building of highways. They were heavily forested with gum, cypress, bay and loblolly pine, as well as with a mass of vines, briars, small bushes and water grasses. The soil is of a deep muck or alluvial and when drained and sweetened produce in great abundance. These jungle or swamp lands were, and still are in a substantial degree, full of all kinds of game, birds and reptiles. As stated heretofore for many years they were considered of but little or no value. It was thought that they were here just to help hold the world together. With the coming of modern science and modern machinery this condition

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is fast changing. The swamps are being drained and the rivers are being spanned with modern bridges connecting state and national highways. I am amused when I hear men and women who claim to have some degree of intelligence finding fault with the modern machine age, claiming that modern machinery has brought us all of our woes. It is bunk of the whole The South today needs every piece of machinery in the entire country, and then some, and millions of people need to come South and use them and find independence and happiness. We haven't too much of the things that will help man to conquer the forces of nature, and to find more time for play and culture. A wrong application of these things is the trouble. Greed and our weasel-minded financiers and economists and sap-headed preachers and politicians have brought us this dislocation. stands with outstretched hands of bounty if our leaders only had the eyes to see. The timber of these swamp and overflow lands which was once thought to be of only secondary quality is now considered the very best, especially for the manufacture of furniture and for inside trimmings of buildings; the ocean, gulf and lake shores are being filled and beautified, and are fast coming to be considered the most desirable homesites; the rich lands which are being reclaimed, and which produce fruits, vegetables and other crops in great abundance, are coming to be of great value.

The aesthetic value of these areas is also beginning to be appreciated. As man advances in intelligence and culture, his love and interests for the beauties of nature broadens. Beauty in nature inspires to beauty

in conduct. The Great Artist has favored those who live and travel the tropical South with many of his finest masterpieces from which to find inspiration and pleasure. Whose soul has not been awed, and whose emotions of romance have not been aroused when. during a moonlit night, he gazed upon the silvered bosom of some tropical Southern river? Who has failed to have a rebirth of interest in life's journey as he viewed the rising of the morning sun midst palms and moss-festooned trees across some jeweled lake? And who has not found joy and peace in the memories of the past as he watched the fading shadows in some placid pool, or has failed to have his faith and hope in a fuller life increased, as he beheld the indescribable grandeur of a gold embroidered curtain from behind which the sun flashed its last kiss to the closing day? Men and women of wealth and culture cross the seas and travel to distant lands to enjoy and receive inspiration from the beauties which man has painted upon the canvas or chiseled from the rock, while those of us who are privileged to live or travel in this blessed Southland have opportunities at almost every morning dawn and at every sunset to gaze upon nature's changing masterpieces.

The Piedmont section of the South was settled with the purest strain of Anglo-Saxons and has ever had the highest conceptions of morality and culture. The Protestant Church dominated almost exclusively for many years after the Civil War, and the people not only believed, but they lived their religion. It is true that the finest principles of their religion were bur-

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dened for a long time with superstitions and formalities which retarded its service to humanity, but they were earnest and sincere believers and directed their habits and activities to conform to its tenets in hope of a finer life. Their religion impelled to plain and simple life, and condemned as revelry and ungodliness all displays of wealth and finery. Gorgeous display in jewels and clothing by the masses of the people was contrary to established notions. For a woman to violate this standard was evidence that she was approachable. The equitable climate and the religious sentiments of the people did not demand costly houses. The majority of the homes, therefore, were of simple construction. Their mode of travel was by wagon, buggy and horseback, and a few main trunk-line railroads. The country being rolling or hilly, and the cost of building roads expensive, they followed the Indian and cow trails with such improvement as the neighbors could provide under the overseer system of supervision. The overseer was appointed by the county commissioners because of his superior common sense and political standing, and he warned the farmers to work the roads for ten days in the year, usually in the summer after the crops were "laid by." These road workings furnished some mighty good times in drinking corn liquor and apple brandy, eating fried chicken and watermelons, and in chewing and smoking home-grown tobacco. Artificial ice, and modern methods of refrigeration were unknown, and the pure cold water of the Piedmont made it an especially favored section in which to live even with the disadvantages of hills and small farms. Every farm

had a spring or well of cold water, and in these they placed their milk and meats during the summer months. The boy who has never eaten onions and corn bread and then quenched his thirst with a glass of cold buttermilk taken from a spring or well in the Piedmont has missed one of the supreme joys of life.

# CHAPTER VIII

## HEALTH CONDITIONS OF OLD SOUTH

THE THEORY of germs was unknown to the people then, and because of their ignorance in this respect, the springs were equipped with a gourd from which the entire family and neighbors drank. Cedar buckets were used for carrying water, and their brass bands were kept bright by scouring them with lye soap and sand. For the brass bands of the cedar bucket to be dingy was evidence of laziness on the part of the housewife. A gourd with a crooked handle always accompanied the bucket. From this gourd every one quenched his thirst. If measles, mumps, whooping cough or even the more deadly diseases of small pox, typhoid, tuberculosis, etc. invaded a family the gourd was used right on. I knew a strong, large family, one member of which contracted tuberculosis, and in two generations the entire family was exterminated because they all drank from the same family gourd. It was believed that they inherited tuberculosis, and they resigned themselves to this inevitable fate. It was not then known that flies carried typhoid, and mosquitoes, yellow fever and malaria. Flies were numerous wherever stock was fed. But few homes, even among the best to-do people, were screened. At meal time a negro servant, or in the poorer families, some member of the family, would stand by the table and with a brush or peach-

tree limb scare away the flies while the rest of the family and visitors were eating.

The negro, having evolved or lived for incalculable time in a hot or warm country in order to save him from the disease and poison of insects, nature endowed him with a peculiar protection. Regardless of his bodily cleanliness, while he is living in a warm climate, he has a smell or odor which is a natural protection against the mosquitoes. This gave him almost immunity against malaria, but he is as susceptible to typhoid as is the white man, and has suffered equally with the white man from this disease. His great enemy, as heretofore stated, has been tuberculosis. Thousands of them have fallen victim to this dreaded disease. Undernourishment and crowding in unsanitary quarters have increased his risks.

Infant mortality years ago in the South, among both white and colored, was high. The people did not know how to care for babies. Every mother approached the second summer with her babe with a sense of horror. This was the period when it was changing from the milk of the mother's breast to other foods, and it became a victim of indigestion. Ignorance is no respecter of persons or races. Those who are afflicted with this most destructive of all maladies, pay tribute to the same market place. imposes its sorrow upon all alike. The people found the strength to endure their grief in the belief that whatever befell them was the will and the decree of a Higher Power. Many times have I attended the funerals of both whites and negroes and heard some minister try to comfort the grief stricken loved ones

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by saying,—"The Lord gave and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord." It was at these banquets of sorrow that I became a rebel. From the depths of my soul I became a hater of superstition and ignorance. The minister promised the grief stricken living that if they would continue to live in their ignorance and conform to the notions of the Church they had a chance to join the departed loved one in a land unknown to death and sorrow.

This condition which prevailed throughout the South until about two decades ago had its bright side. There was love, happiness and peace even amidst ignorance and death. Men were honest. When I was a boy on the plantation in Alabama there was not a lock to be found on the entire plantation. We did not have to lock our homes or barns against thieves and thugs. Our cribs were full of corn, and the smoke-house was full of meats, and the country was not hungry. If a neighbor ran short of corn before gathering time, he drove over and got what he needed and paid it back in kind in the fall. If my father or some neighbor needed a few hundred dollars, he didn't have to give a mortgage on his land and his family to get it. A neighbor's word was all the security required. If a member of a family got sick, the other neighbors nursed him. If he died, they dug the grave and buried him.

There is work yet to be done in the South towards eradicating malaria. Some serious minded statesmen, including President Franklin D. Roosevelt, are beginning to appreciate the wonderful opportunity for public service in this respect. When the swamp lands are

better drained, and the malarial conditions cleaned up, it will not only open up millions of the finest acres of land on earth, but it will raise the standard of efficiency of the Southern people, physically and morally that will return rewards and create values beyond human estimation. The statesman who earnestly undertakes this work, will find his place among the immortals along with Teddy Roosevelt and Dr. Gorgas.

# CHAPTER IX

## RELIGIOUS LIFE OF OLD SOUTH

THE CHURCH was the dominent force of the com-The ministers were "called to preach munity. the gospel," and they never thought of money or political power. They were furnished by their members, a shelter, food and transportation. During the summer months they held protracted and camp meetings. The camp meetings were great institutions in the South thirty-five years ago. The people made arrangements for many families to come to them from a distance. They usually constructed one large building, shelter, or arbor in which to hold services, and then a number of shanties or shacks for the families to live in while in attendance. The main building or arbor was floored with boards fastened to sills or pillars from two to four feet off of the ground. These were more or less permanent, and were used summer after summer. The families carried with them to these meetings, food, clothing and other supplies to last for weeks. They traveled by ox and mule wagons and in buggies and surries. Every family had one or more dogs and they brought the dogs along to the camp. There was an open range system then, and cattle, hogs and sheep roamed at will. There being plenty of food for both man and beast at these meetings, hogs were numerous and often competed with the dogs for supremacy. After the hogs had eaten until they were satisfied, they bedded under the floor

of the main building where it was cool. I remember that back when I was a boy I attended such a camp meeting when the hogs were sleeping under the floor of the building where services were held, and one day a man by the name of Hughes had preached a great sermon on the subject of Heaven. He had pictured it as a place where labor, pain and sorrow were unknown. He was a great orator and his visioning of it as a place of pearly gates and golden streets, inhabited by angels singing and drinking milk and honey, was very dramatic and intoxicating. power over the people was so forceful that finally the spirit or emotions of a number of women and several men got the mastery of them. They arose and began to clap their hands and to shout, "Glory Halleluiah!" There were many dogs around the camp and they understood the handclapping and the shouting as a command to them to go after the hogs. They rushed the hogs that were sleeping under the meeting house, and pandemonium broke loose. The squealing of the pigs and the barking of the dogs frightened and scared the mules and horses until many of them broke loose from their hitches and began to run in confusion. It was a great day for everybody and everything.

In addition to these furnishing a moral reserve to guard them against temptation and sorrow, they also furnished an opportunity for the young folks to court and get married. God attended those meetings, and when a man got converted he just wouldn't do you a mean trick. He didn't know anything about God but he loved Him just the same, and he loved his

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neighbor. The South had religion then, as well as ignorance and superstition and all that went with them, but little reason and intelligence. Now it has reason and intelligence, and but little religion. If we can ever have both religion and reason the South will be the "Garden of Eden" of this earth. I have tried to drink deep at the fountain of knowledge and wisdom, and I am not a religious fanatic, nor an orthodox Christian, but I believe that the thing the South needs, America needs, the world needs, above everything else, is both religion and reason. It needs these more than it needs a different monetary system, shorter hours of labor, a revision of the tariff or some mythological system of disposing of the agricultural surpluses. There are only two forces that will save this world, and for lack of better terms I will call them religion and reason.

What I mean by religion is love, patience, toleration, sympathy, kindness, vicarious service, honesty, truth, a love of and for the beautiful, a hunger for knowledge and wisdom, a belief that right thought, right conduct, right example is a magnet sufficient within itself to attract men and women away from excesses and evils. It does not have to rely upon the sword or the police. Christ, even in the face of what appeared to be real danger, a real emergency, told Peter to put up his sword. Real religion does not depend upon the sword or the police. It is a philosophy that teaches us how to live, and if we live right, we have no concern about the future after death. A religion that teaches us how to live cannot help but prepare us for that most interesting of all journeys

beyond the sunset. That each and all of us have some vision of its beauties, there can be no doubt; that we may differ as to the authenticity and value of all religious books; that we may question the various forms of faith and creeds which have engaged the minds of men; that we may wonder about the sources of life and debate our future state, but the fact remains that every conscious mind has its own vision of God and what its state and condition will be when we shall have passed the orange tinted heights and this body has returned to dust. Man in every age and in every clime has had this vision, but differently defined. It is modified and changed with the intellectual progress of our race, but it cannot and will not die. It is the crowning fact of resurrection, for there are no vaults that can enclose it. It dwells in the caves and the grass-thatched huts of the savage the same as in the temples of the wise. As long as the mind of man is conscious of its own existence he will have this vision. That there will be such a conscious existence after death no one can know, but love gives birth to faith. The orthodox creeds and activities of all the world have been and can be nothing but our efforts to look beyond the heights, and one man's vision is as accurate as another; but there is a sphere without reach, and when we discharge its obligations, we shall certainly not be further removed from our final destiny.

The failure of orthodox christianity in this country during the past two decades has only been surpassed by the failure of political incompetency and demagogism. Constructive morality, intelligence and the

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economic well being of our people have been thwarted and hindered by these at every turn in our national life. The Church leadership has degenerated into a selfish, ignorant, time serving, expensive, society worshiping ollapodrida which, ostrich like, refuses to see or discern the laws and forces of nature. If it had the vision and the courage to go back to the only possible limits of man's present or prospective conceptions to first principles of time, space, matter and force, and start there with cause and effect, as well as with the laws and the forces of assimilation, and realize that all that we have achieved or can hope to achieve, in this world or in any other, is by interpreting and cooperating with those laws and forces, rather than founding its faiths and tenets alone upon the fables and notions of some Tewish book, or upon all other books of like character; and further realize that the only evidence upon which to intelligently base any hope for future conscious existence, is that the mind of man is now conscious of it own existence; that there was a time when no living human being was conscious that he lived, and then in harmony with the law of evolution of intelligence, as well as matter, he became conscious of the fact that he lives here and now, he began to speculate about the future; that when love was born, which was conceived in the biology of sex, and glorified in the sweetness of companionship, his desire for immortality was born, then and only until then, will the fruits and the accomplishments of the Church, any church, merit an excuse for its existence; then and only then will the church divorce itself of ignorant fear, and selfish, destructive

political ambition and intrigue, to such an extent that it will attract to its support the finest men and women everywhere in the broadest development of the human family. Until a few years ago there was a bitter antagonism between the Protestant and Catholic Churches in the South. They were competitors in ignorance and selfishness, and both used the weapons of fear and promise to seek domination. That this bitterness was the result of ignorance cannot be doubted. If they had known the true meaning of worship, or the history of any religion, they would have been more tolerant and forbearing. That both exemplified many fine virtues and attributes must be admitted, but that each depreciated its opportunity to serve humanity by its mistakes, cruelties and absurd superstitions cannot be denied.

With the advancement of science and knowledge, the leadership of the Protestant Church in the South has come, though reluctantly, to doubt its Bible, to rebuild its god. When the sunlight of knowledge reflected from our schools and colleges dried up the fog pockets of superstition, our Protestant Church leadership turned its eyes from the Jehovah of the Jews to politics and prohibition. The Catholics still manifest a deep sense of piety, while they encourage the defaulter with promises of absolution, and support their superstitions with their agencies of charity. In my twenty years as an active lawyer I have defended sixty-two men and women charged of murder, and over fifteen hundred charged with other infractions of the law. I have listened to the stories of disappointment and sorrow of over a thousand un-

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happy marriages. I would be dumb and inhuman if these things had not aroused in me some sense of responsibility. In traveling through all the states last year I visited more than a hundred prisons and penitentiaries. The things that I saw and learned would have shocked the Devil. In the midst of crime and injustice, disease and poverty, the lawyers and the preachers proclaim the doctrine of legal and moral responsibility. I am not unmindful of the powerful influence of a correct teaching of moral responsibility, but what is morality? I contend that every human being has a Creator given the right to do any and all things he pleases, restrained only by the laws of nature and the equal rights of others. It is a tragedy that we do not appreciate this basic law. We absolutely ignore the laws of nature, even if we ever tried seriously to understand them, and we think that the rights of others require them to conform to our notions and standards. In our ignorance of, or in our ignoring of the laws of nature, we invite poverty, increase marital unhappiness, and breed disease and crime, and then justify our perfidy and cruelty by professing legal and moral responsibility as the gift of God. We seek to force others to conform to our customs and notions, and impose statutes and decrees upon substantial minorities, against which intelligent free men could not help but rebel. Unless the Church has a rebirth of understanding, it will forfeit the respect of every intelligent man and woman. No institution on earth with such a large and universal support for centuries has made such a colossal failure. It is not enough to say that without its influence con-

ditions might be worse. It is enough to say that unless it meets the responsibility now upon it, it deserves to die. In every village, hamlet and city we find many costly church edifices from which a variety of social and political parsons scramble many kinds of notions and nostrums that bring confusion confounded; and in many of our large cities these costly church buildings and social parsons offer an excuse and an escape for the financial grafters and robbers, while the children of the exploited live like bats in dungeons, and play like rats in the filthy streets. Any religion that can do no better deserves extermination. If there is a conscious personality which made the Universe and all that is, and ordained the forces and the laws by which it is governed, I believe that he will find his greatest pleasure with the man or woman who earnestly seeks to understand and interpret these laws and forces for the betterment of the masses of humanity. Personally I do not desire to worship at any more sacred altar. The fruit of this altar must be the hope for the future, not only here, but throughout eternity. That the South is fast approaching this conception of religion is of the greatest satisfaction to me.

# CHAPTER X

## CHURCH TURNS TO STRANGE GOD

OUR FOREFATHERS being familiar with the Socialistic, Monarchical, Autocratic and Canonistical systems of government, sought to establish on this continent a government that protected and encouraged the fullest benefits and rewards to the individual, and sought to divorce the government from all entanglements or domination by the Church. For many years we made progress under this system and then we began to glorify the holding of public office. We did this not so much because it offered an opportunity for public service, but because of the compensation that it offered, and because of the opportunity it also offered for discovering new resources and opportunities for making money and acquiring property, and for graft in connection with public contracts, bond issues, monoplies and special privileges denied to the layman. The Church soon tactfully confessed a lack of influence to deal with or stop this practice, and sought to receive its share of the rewards. It established an organized lobby at the capitals of political power, and instead of seeking to eradicate this monstrous thing, it seeks to direct it for its own advantage. As a result the wealth and property of our nation has been centralized in the hands of a favored few to the extent that we are the poorest people, per capita, when we consider our aggregate national wealth, on the face of the globe. Without a deep sense of moral and human

conviction, which it is the responsibility and duty of the Church to create and keep alive, to correct this injustice, I do not believe that our nation can endure. I have observed the tactics of the Church lobbies at Washington for several years, and present conditions unquestionably justify the indictment that they have by reason of selfishness and incompetency decoyed the public mind with prohibition and other secondary issues from graft and spoilation by the favored few. We need in this country a re-establishment of mass consciousness and understanding of the province and mission of the Church. If the Church keeps worshiping at the shrine of prohibition, it may give momentum to the bringing this about through a complete reorganization of the religious life of America. It has already divorced a very large percentage of the thinking men and women of America, who realize the importance of organized Christianity, but who are unsympathetic with the narrowness and policies of the present Church leadership. That Southern Protestantism has led the procession towards the above stated degeneracy is known by every one. That there is a tremendous awakening which will demand a correction of the above erroneous province of Church leadership is the hope of the future. The next religious movement in the South will not find its justification in ignorance and fear, and it will not be led by avaricious political parsons.

## CHAPTER XI

## AMUSEMENTS OF OLD SOUTH

It is needless to say that with the limited facilities of transportation and communication throughout the South for many years after the Civil War, the amusements were simple and meager. There being but few cities, and these being greatly influenced by the Church, those possessing peculiar talents for the stage, sought to express themselves in the larger and more lucrative fields of the North. The moving picture was yet unknown. The traveling circus came through the larger cities once a year with its sideshows and gambling devices. They were permitted largely to supplement the city revenue. The ventriloquist with his Punch and Judy show sometimes visited the rural villages.

Most of the entertainment of the South for a long time consisted of the chase of the deer and the fox by the elite,—raccoon, opossum and squirrel hunting by the average folk,—and drives for the cottontail or rabbit by the farmer boys; also, the Virginia Reel and the square dance during the Christmas holidays. The music consisted of the fiddle and the straw, sometimes augmented by the banjo and the guitar. The members of the Baptist Church could not take part in these, for it was against the rules of the Church. I never shall forget an incident which happened to me when I was a boy eighteen years of age. My father's farm of seven hundred and twenty acres completely

surrounds Woegufka Baptist Church in Coosa County, Alabama. My great grandfather built this Church in 1832. It has been the scene of more joy and sorrow than any other rural Church in Alabama. They have services there on the fourth Saturday and Sunday in each month. I joined that Church when I was fourteen years of age. When I was eighteen a young lady came in there from another county to teach. She was not yet a member of the Church and there was no law against her dancing. We became friends. Finally Christmas came on and they began to have a few square dances at the homes of the nonchurch members. I had a good horse and buggy and I carried her to the dances. She could dance but I had to take a seat in the corner and look on. It was against the law of my Church for me to dance. I repeated this for several nights, debating all the time in my mind whether dancing was right or wrong. I finally reached the conclusion that any God who would condemn a young man to eternal damnation for what appeared to me as innocent amusement was a monster instead of a loving father. My interest in the young lady helped me to reach this decision. After reaching this decision I entered into the dance whole-heartedly and continued to do so throughout the Christmas holidays. Finally the fourth Saturday in January came on, and according to the judgments of my father we went to Church. I was anticipating trouble. The minister preached for an hour and a half picturing the glories of pearly gates and golden streets, and the horrors of eternal fire and brimstone, and then he opened the Church conference. One of the members arose

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and said, "I hear that young brother Callaway has been dancing during the holidays, and I think he should make an apology to the church. Everyone's eyes were then focused upon me. The preacher said, "Brother Callaway, what have you to say?" I arose and stated, "I haven't any apologies to make. I have not done any wrong. I danced with a young woman who is good enough to teach your children and boards in one of the best homes of the community. I have not committed any wrong and I do not intend to apologize." When I concluded another member arose and moved that a charge of revelry be made against me and that a committee be sent to talk to me. This motion was seconded. Immediately I arose and said, "You do not have to prefer a charge against me for I have no desire to remain a member of this church. I have no desire to associate longer with such a bunch of ignorant bigots. I do not know how long I shall live, nor what will become of me after I die, but regardless of how long I may live and what may be my condition after death, I intend to be a free man so long as I live." I picked up my hat and walked out. My father and mother were heart broken. They felt that I had joined the ranks of the Devil. At the table that noon , there was silence. After lunch I went back to the field to work. About three o'clock in the afternoon I saw three members of the church approaching me. They attempted to talk to me. I stated to them in firm but kindly terms, "Gentlemen, I have not time to waste with men who are so blinded by ignorance and fear that they would deny to boys and girls some enjoyment in this life. If that is the kind of God

who is running Heaven, then I prefer to go to Hell for all the people whom I would care to associate with will be there." They left me. My attitude made me the outcast of the community. I was classed with Bob Ingersol and Tom Paine. This injustice gave me an incentive to study. I sought and begged books wherever I could find them. A traveling salesman gave me a copy of the Literary Digest, in which were advertised many fine literary and scientific works. I bought these as I could get the money, some of them I had to hide in the woods and barns to keep my father and mother from destroying them, and at night and during rainy days I read them. I expressed my opinion without fear of present or eternal punishment. At last my uncle, who was a physician, was converted to my viewpoint. He bought many books and we read them together, and finally he became brave enough to express his thoughts. His patients held up their hands in horror, and many of them refused to permit him to enter their homes, but the leaven of intelligence was working in the community, and the sunlight began to dry away the fogs of superstition. I lived to see my father and mother climb the heights of intellectual freedom and leave superstitions and fear back in the valley.

The condition of that community then was no different to the whole South. It is needless to say that other features of their customs and life were just as unreasonable. To illustrate this, I will relate two things which impressed me very much. Many people when they reached middle life had rheumatism—some joint of their body would become sore and painful.

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They sent for my uncle to doctor them. He would come and bring a bottle of Sloan's liniment and tell them to take a red flannel cloth and place it over the affected joint, then pour on the liniment and rub it in with a hot iron. Many times have I seen this. It is useless for me to say that it did no good. This same uncle is still living, and he is now a splendid physician. When someone comes to him now with rheumatism he makes a scientific diagnosis, including an X-Ray and blood chemistry, and he finds the focal infection and removes it, and the rheumatism gets well. My father and neighbors had many cattle, and along in the late winter the cows would get poor and have what they called the "hollow horn or hollow tail." I have seen them take a gimlet and bore a hole in an old poor cows horn and put some medicine in there. I have also seen them take a knife and split the cow's tail and put salt in it. They did this to cure the "hollow horn" and the "hollow tail." Many times I have seen doctors and even laymen, "bleed" a sick person. These conditions have passed, but they were common throughout the South thirty-five years ago. Modern science and modern education have revolutionized the South within thirty-five years.

# CHAPTER XII SOCIAL CUSTOMS

THE SOCIAL system of the South came into being and up until about twenty-five years ago was maintained for the primary purpose of furthering the best interest of the Church. In fact, the primary business of everything was to glorify the Church. Church was not so designed, and its policies and philosophies were not shaped to increase the happiness and pleasures of the social system. The one and main objective of the people was to squeeze into Heaven when they died. They were not trying to find or to live to Heaven in this world. They supressed all pleasures in this world for the hope of them in the next. They suffered every pain and misery and bore every hardship in this world as an apprenticeship to be worthy of the glories in the next. Sunday was a day of imprisonment for every child, not a day of merriment and joy. To stroll into the woods, or to chase a rabbit, or go fishing, was a grievous sin. It was the Christian duty of the parents to bend the natural desires and impulses of the child to the straight-jacket of the Church that he might be brought up in the fear and admonition of the Lord. Physical pain and threats of Hell were used to accomplish this purpose. The Church philosophies and customs restrained and limited the activities and associations of the young people to within the limits of the church circle. The different church denominations

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hated each other, that is, the Baptist hated the Methodist; the Methodist hated the Hardshells; the Hardshells had no use for the Holy-Rollers, and all of these damned and persecuted the Catholics. These hatreds and jealousies constituted social barriers over which the young people could cross with great difficulty. The intra-church functions therefore constituted about the only opportunities they had for forming acquaintances and associations. They married therefore almost entirely within their own Church denominations. The Church, and the schools which it dominated and controlled, suppressed all knowledge of sex. They knew absolutely nothing about the science of biology and had no opportunity to learn. Their natural desires and impulses were suppressed at every turn. The girls were warned by their mothers to fear all boys and men, except their close male relatives. They were taught never to permit any man to touch them, much less kiss or embrace them. For a girl to manifest or show any interest in sex, or to offer any flirtations towards any man, was evidence that she was both debased and wicked. The girls had it instilled into them from puberty, never to show any interest in any man, nor to assume any aggressive attitude. She was to quietly await the coming of her Romeo. A young man who found any interest in a young woman, which was usually only through his church affiliations, had to first make his desires known to her parents. These of course were limited only to seeking her hand in marriage. Friendly or even business associations outside of her male relatives were sternly forbidden. After obtaining the consent of her

parents to seek her hand, his privileges were limited to accompanying her to church, or to visiting her in her home on Sunday afternoon. Even buggy rides, unchaperoned, were serious breaches of family and church discipline. While in the parlor of the home he sat on one side of the room and she on the other. while the members of the family acted as spies. the young people finally agreed to be married, he had to "ask the old folks for her." Unless something had developed within the meantime to make him objectionable this was only a perfunctory matter. had, he usually knew it before then, but if not, his request was denied and he was forbidden to see her again, except in Christian Church fellowship. During the courtship he was expected once to ask her to kiss him. This was for the purpose of "trying her out." If she consented, he did either one of two things: broke off the courtship and all further social acquaintance, or sought further privileges. If she consented to this, then he ran away and went to Texas. If her male relatives learned of the infidelity before he could get away, then there was a "shot gun wedding." If he succeeded in escaping, the girl was driven from home and found shelter and refuge in a house of prostitution. The Christians, including her parents, were ready to stone her. If they escaped the pit-falls set by ignorance and superstition up to the night of the marriage, the chances were nine to one that they would fall into one then. Neither had any training for the most important step between birth and the grave. If they escaped being wrecked upon the rocks, which have wrecked more marital happiness

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than all other things combined, it was a miracle. If the womanhood of the world could express themselves freely, they would corroborate this statement. young couple started on the journey of their marriage life, strangers to biology, and the laws of sanitation and birth control. Within the course of a year or two a baby was born. The mother was attended by a mid-wife or an incompetent doctor for whose ignorance and mistakes she suffered in pain and unhappiness, as well as marital disappointment, for the remainder of her days. In many instances fear of future pain and misery forced her to rebel, or alienated her interest and affection for her husband. His ignorance from the moment of their marriage, together with the indifferent and negative attitude of his wife, brought incompatibility, and made him unhappy and often angry and cruel to the extent that the homelife of the children was clouded. Tell me that the world was better off for such a philosophy or for such a religion? It said to these mismated, incompatible, unhappy souls "Endure your misery, bear your pain, for these will prepare you for eternal happiness in the world to come." Yes, I know that the Protestant and Catholic Church leadership, even in the South, has at last had this ignorance and superstition educated out of it, but it fought at every turn with the most infamous instruments of ostracism and abuse, and would have resorted to the sword and the faggot but for the civil law, and then when it was finally forced to retreat, it sought cover in the house of politics and prohibition. What would it do today but for the restraint of the civil law? When the

church, any church, dominates the civil government, it is the beginning of tyranny. I long to live to see the day when we shall have a religion that will teach us how to live; a religion founded upon a philosophy that he who serves man best does not serve his God least. If we had spent twenty-five cents out of every dollar trying to find out how to live, that we have spent trying to get ready to go somewhere when we die, the world would be a thousand years ahead of what it is. I am happy to say that we are at last in sight of such a religion, even here in the South, and for it we are indebted to the rebellious spirit of youth led by the great scientists, educators and thinkers of the world. A few years ago in Mississippi a tirade of abuse burst forth from the pulpits and the press of a certain city against the young people for the manner in which they were talking, dancing, swimming, playing, courting and acting. I thought, "What intolerant fools!" My mind drifted back to the Bible character who stood up and said, "I thank God that I am not as other people." I finally addressed a letter to the press of the city in which I said, "Stop your unfair and destructive criticism of these young people. Let them dance, swim, play, bill and coo. It doesn't make any difference what they do, what mistakes they make, they can't begin to do as badly as we and our fathers have done. From 1914 until 1919 we increased the indebtedness of the world over two hundred and fifty billion dollars which these young people and their children will have to pay. And this vast sum of money was not spent to build the world up and to make it a better place in which to

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live, but was spent to tear it down in the cause of hate. We also caused forty million of the finest boys of the earth to be slaughtered upon the fields of carnage, and we left more millions of women and children bowed in sorrow. We have filled the world with more sorrow and more hate than it has known since the Dark Ages. Our boasted Christianity permitted a treaty, that, instead of settling European hatreds and injustices, intensified them. It permitted the imposition of conditions upon Germany which the world will have to atone for in suffering and misunderstandings for centuries to come. Germany has been one of the great torch bearers of science and learning, and now it has been crushed, its spirit killed, to satisfy the vengeance and the lusts of the Gods of Hate. Nothing is settled until it is settled aright, and the treaty which was signed did not settle European troubles according to equity and humanity. breathes the very spirit of hate and punishment." Yes, the rebellious spirit of youth has brought a change, and I bless it for it. That they will make mistakes is to be admitted, for they are still within the shadow of the cave. They are walking, slowly but surely. I hope, away from ignorance and superstition, both religious and political. The womanhood of the South is demanding freedom, not licentiousness. They are going to demand freedom from economic slavery. They are going to demand the right to perpetuate and improve their race under the laws of natural selection and intelligence. They are tired of filling the world with imbeciles and incompetents out of a sense of dependency. They have at last come to know that the thing that every normal worthy man wants above everything else after his desire for food has been satisfied, is a strong, healthy, clean, intelligent, passionate and affectionate woman as his mate and for the mother of his children. By understanding man rather than fearing him she has within her the forces and the attributes with which to direct and control the future destiny of the human race. What a glorious change.

To illustrate the power of the church in the South years ago, even in high circles, I recall an incident which happened in Alabama, many years ago, when I was a school boy. I will use the name Smith so as not to reflect upon a prominent family still living there.

A man by the name of Smith lived in a rural section of one of the middle-Alabama Counties, who was a local Baptist Minister with lots of good sense, and a natural orator, but uneducated. Times got hard and money was scare with him so he rigged up a small sausage still and went out in the hills to make corn liquor. Finally the Federal Revenue Officers caught him and carried him to Montgomery for trial. Judge Jones was Federal Judge. Smith was carried before Judge Jones in the afternoon, who told him to be in court the next morning for trial. He was under bond so he went out in town to spend the night with a relative. This relative informed him that there was a protracted meeting going on at the First Baptist Church. He decided to go. Before preaching at those meetings they had an hour of prayer. The leading official and business men of Montgomery were there.

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Judge Jones was there. Many of them made talks or led in Prayer. Judge Jones made a talk. thanked the Lord for having blessed him all through his life, for having given him a happy family, for having honored him with public office and for making it possible for him to have a good home and other The Governor made a talk. thanked the Lord for the good things that had come to him, for his having been honored by the people with the highest office in the State, and for having a happy home and other joys and comforts. Several members of the Supreme Court testified and thanked the Lord for office, for wealth and emoluments. Finally at the psychological moment the spirit got the mastery of Brother Smith and he arose in the audience and said, "Brother Moderator, brothers and sisters, I can't thank the Lord for Public Office for I have never held Public Office: neither can I thank him for wealth or worldly possessions, for I am almost in the condition of the Savior when He said, 'Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not place to lay his head!' but I can thank Him for something better than Public Office, something better than money and property, I can thank Him for the Redeeming Grace and Spirit of Jesus Christ that goes down into the quagmires and pits of degredation and Hell and saves a man's soul. That is what I can thank him for tonight." One of the leading officials arose and said, "I believe that Brother is a minister and if he is I move that we have an old-time sermon and revival here tonight." Smith replied, "I am, I am a Baptist minister from the hills of .....

## CHAPTER XIII

#### **SPORTS**

THE FINEST sport the men of the South have ever known is deer and fox hunting. The best to-do families kept droves of deer and fox hounds, and at times drives were made, and it was a great chase. Also the hunting of raccoon, opossum, squirrel and rabbits, and the shooting of quail furnished amusement for the masses. The negro boys joined in these minor sports and especially the hunting of opossum. The seven wonders of the world of the average Southern negro used to be the "'possum and taters, ham and eggs, hot cat, chicken and watermelon." We always gave the best and largest opossum to the negro boy who went with us hunting. On these hunts we invaded all of the neighbors' sugar cane and peanut patches, and apple orchards, but we only got what we could eat.

I recall an amusing incident that I saw and heard while on a hunting trip when I was about sixteen years of age. A number of neighbor boys and I went over into an adjoining county to hunt for a few days and it was a sparsely settled rural community, but full of all kinds of game. We camped and hunted for two or three weeks, and I did most of the cooking for the party. Finally, we ran out of salt with which to preserve and cook our game, and it was my business to go out and find some. I started out one Sunday morning looking for a country home, and as I did not

know the country, I just wandered around until about eleven o'clock, when I came upon a church in the woods. The people had gone in for services, and since I knew it to be a serious offense to disturb public worship, I slipped in and took a seat in the rear of the church to await the conclusion of the services. minister couldn't read his text, so he carried his daughter with him for that purpose. He believed that the Lord directed him to the text that He wanted him to preach from, and he told his daughter to take the closed Bible and place it upright on its back, then close her eyes and let it open, and to then put her finger on the open Bible, open her eyes and read the verse or passage where her finger was. She did this, and in this manner the Lord directed him to his text. While she did this the people looked on in deep prayer and the text which she read was as follows, "And those eight did Milkah bear." The minister started out to preach from this text. It was a great sermon. He drew a contrast between the young people of that day, and those of Biblical times. He said, "The young people of today are lazy, idle, worthless human beings; they have fine cows to milk, but they lay in the bed Sunday morning until their pas and mas drag them out by the hair of the head, and then when they go to the cow-pen to milk the cows, they have to have a stool to sit on while they milk. Back in Bible times they didn't have no fine cows to milk. They only had a bear to milk, and it took eight of them to milk her." After the services I found a neighbor, got my salt and returned to the camp. I had found my "Saver."

It was the custom years ago to have "rail splittings.

#### SPORTS

log rollings, corn huskings and house raisings." While the men were engaged in these activities, the women folk had quilting bees. All the neighbors were invited to these, and they worked without compensation, except a big dinner. To be slighted was the greatest insult. In the homes of the non-church members where these were held, a Virginia Reel or Square Dance was the order of the evening. One of the common sports was the "shooting match" at which all the fellows shot for turkeys, beef and other prizes.

## CHAPTER XIV

## STRENGTH OF DEMOCRACY AND BIRTH OF TWO PARTY MOVEMENT

THE PERCENTAGE of illiteracy in the South for many years after the Civil War was high. This was true because of the large negro population and because of the general poverty among the masses of the white people, resulting from exhaustion as a result of the war. The educational facilities were meager. Most rural schools consisted of one room, many times constructed out of logs, with the poorest heating accommodations. Split or hewn logs served as benches for the children to sit upon. These were supported by pegs for legs, and were often so high that the feet of the children were off the floor. The books consisted of a reader, Blue Black Speller, and Davies' Arithmetic, and in the higher grades the United States Constitution and history. The teachers were men, and very poorly educated, except in the school of hard knocks. After conditions began to improve the wealthy plantation owners educated their children by private tutors and in Northern universities. During all of this time the South had a few very scholarly men and women. They constituted almost exclusively the upper office holding class. They were Democrats, and they preached the Democratic doctrine of fear and hate. In fact the Democratic party of the South after the Civil War found its growth and strength behind the ramparts of fear and hate. They

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were free traders because the South had no variety of agriculture nor industry, the only industry being cotton, and they marketed the larger percentage of their cotton abroad. They desired to encourage the foreign manufacture of cotton goods by removing all import duties in this country. They were purchasers of clothing, machinery and much of their foods, and they desired to purchase them in an open market where they could buy them the cheapest. In their political contests, either in primaries or conventions, to select the nominees of the Democratic Party, they discussed only local and state issues, and engaged in personal abuse and slander. The rank and file of the people had no opportunity to study the science of government, or the principles and purposes of political parties. The negro was normally Republican because the Republican Party had freed him, but he was in such hopeless minority, except in one or two states, and in certain local communities that he did not offer substantial opposition at the general election. In the sections where he was numerous, his suffrage was influenced by the use of liquor and a little money to vote as the white Democrats wished. Later the matter of handling the negro became a nuisance to the Democratic politicians, for they began to have contests among themselves over his vote, and then they amended the constitutions, and enacted the poll tax law, the grandfather clause and other statutes designed to disfranchise him altogether. When the South began to develop industrially, and to face foreign competition in the raising of cotton, an ever increasing number of white people began to advocate

protection, and to vote the Republican ticket. Also the Federal patronage during Republican administrations belonged to the Republicans, and as it was not healthy for a negro to hold public office in the South, this increased the number of white Republicans. When the "Royal Order of Democratic Office Holders" saw a growing opposition in the Republican party, they changed their tactics, at least during the campaign for the general election. During the primary they still abuse each other, calling each other all kinds of vile and vicious names, and charge each other with every crime and defalcation on the statute books, but as soon as the nominations are made, the victor opens his arms and accepts the defeated into full fellowship, and the person who has been defeated by slander and assassination congratulates and rewards the victor with his support. He does this because he expects to run next time. Together they then go out to oppose the Republicans, not by discussing issues and principles, and trying to educate the people in the science of government, but by appealing to sectional and racial prejudice, yelling "nigger" and "dam Yankee." The biggest liar and the best story teller is the favored Every intelligent reader knows many Southern Democrats who were of the above type. They are fast passing, to the great benefit of the South. Like the boy who cried "wolf" they have fooled the people so many times with their false alarm until it is not going to work much longer. Many men and women of the North ventured into the South to engage in business, to invest money and to develop the wonderful resources here, but the greed and

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avarice of the "Royal Order of Toxeating Office Holders" soon convinced them that "taxation without representation" was not very profitable. boodlers and grafters prided themselves on their ability and cunning to extract money out of the "dam Yankees" but after once tasting the blood of the Yankees, they became so avaricious that they have shorn the native lambs so close that they are now seeking the shelter of the Yankee Republicans. Greed, incompetency and oppression under one party system, together with the forces of the school, the press, the radio and transportation are fast bringing a new order and a new philosophy in the South. During the 1928 campaign in Alabama, the "Royal Order of Office Holders" realized that unless something was done the state would cast its vote for the Republican candidates. So they arranged and advertised for a "great day" in Montgomery, the capitol city. Every office holder throughout the state was urged to come and bring a friend. The program was well arranged, which included corn liquor at the hotels the night before, and a speech by a distinguished Congressman the next day. They were on sacred ground, the onetime capital of the Southern Confederacy. They had arranged well in advance for a Confederate soldier with one empty sleeve to be present in the meeting. The Congressman made a great speech waving the bloody shirt and yelling "nigger." He abused the Republican Party and the Yankees and pictured the horrors of reconstruction. When he finally, at great effort reached a dramatic description of the Old South, the Confederate Soldier with the empty sleeve

climbed upon a chair which had been provided for him and gave the rebel yell, while the distinguished Congressman shouted at the top of his voice, "As long as there is one Confederate soldier left in Alabama I will not vote the Republican ticket." The Democratic press of the state, of course, was there for a mess of carrion. In spite of such methods and in spite of such ballot box corruption as they could legally get away with, the state was counted in the Democratic column by only a few thousand votes. Yes, there is even hope for Alabama. No state in the Union is richer in resources and opportunity, and but few equal it, but regardless of this great natural wealth, it is financially bankrupt and the schools in fifty-one of the sixty-seven counties had to close during 1932-3 for a lack of funds with which to pay the teachers. The people of the state are beginning to wonder what the trouble is. They are beginning to debate among themselves why it is that though they are living amidst "acres of diamonds" they are burdened with poverty. The young people of the state are beginning to realize that the adverse conditions by which they are surrounded results from extravagance, inefficiency and corruption of the one party system. The masses of the people are not to blame for this condition. Political demagogues of which Alabama has had her share have brought them to this sad condition.

During the Gubernatorial campaign in Florida in 1932 the "Royal Order of Democratic Office Holders" began to realize that they had a fight on their hands, and they became desperate, for they did not want to be shoved away from the public trough, and lose their

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salaries and their graft. They began to sing the old wolf cry "nigger." A large percentage of the press of the state which is Democratic, and the Democratic Campaign Committee, began to charge and circulate the report that if W. J. Howey, the Republican candidate, should be elected, he would appoint a number of negroes to public office, even to positions in the State College for White Women. They knew that these were vicious falsehoods, but it shows the desperate extent to which an organized gang of plunderbuns, in any political party as to that matter, will go to maintain their power. During the campaign, Mr. Howey was announced to speak in Gainesville, the seat of the State University. There is a large negro living in Gainesville, by the name of "Big Feet." The local Democratic organization planned to have "Big Feet" in the audience, and at the conclusion of Mr. Howey's speech to have the negro advance through the audience and attempt to shake hands with him. The negro was there, and at the conclusion of Mr. Howey's address he attempted to reach him, but the Howey management had gotten on to the scheme and had his friends form a sufficient barrage around him to prevent the negro from reaching him. The idea was that if Howey greeted the negro, he would lose many white votes there, and the Democratic press would carry the story over the state. On the other hand if he refused to recognize the negro, there were many negroes living in that county, as well as throughout the state, and he would lose their votes. Those Democrats who arranged this scheme placed a very low estimate upon the intelligence of their fellow white citizens. But even in spite of such methods, which are repulsive and disgusting to every sensible person, the Republican Party polled more than a third of the vote cast, and this in the face of a national landslide towards the Democratic Party. Even the rank and file of the Democrats in Florida have become sufficiently independent in politics that they nominated and elected an able Yankee Tew from New York as the Governor of the state over five native sons, two of whom were former governors. If the new administration gives the people good government, that is all that most of them desire. If it does not give them such an administration Florida will elect a Republican administration in 1936. The time has come when both parties must nominate the best men and women to office, and discuss issues and principles, if they expect to win. Who will deny that this is not a more healthy condition?

One of the greatest educational influences the South has ever known has been the tourist travel by automobile from the North to Florida. In most of the rural sections of the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Florida twenty-five years ago the people had never heard anything complimentary of the Northern people. The North and Republicanism were synonymous terms with the rural people of the South. The political leadership of the South found nothing but fault with the North and the Republican Party. The people were therefore taught to think of the North only as an enemy. When the people of the North began to travel South to Florida in automobiles and to stop and play along the way, the young

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people, even of the rural sections, began to have an opportunity to see them and to hear them talk, and to realize that they had been misinformed. Fortunately most of the tourists were above the average in intelligence and sympathy, as well as liberal spenders, and the young people of the South came to realize that they are friends, and not enemies. The wishes and needs of the tourists brought about the building of hotels, tourist camps, gas stations and other accommodations, which furnished the Southerner an opportunity to make some money and to form pleasant friendships. He soon saw that he could improve his business and increase his pleasures and friendships by the building of good roads and better facilities in general. He then bought a car and began to travel. His interest in and friendship for the tourists led him to want to tour the North. Once he had done this and observed the customs and progress of the people, his prejudices and sectionalism were gone and he became an American.

It cannot be denied that the South has been cursed with a one party system. This had its birth in fear and hate, and it has sustained itself in ignorance and selfishness, to the great detriment not only of the South, but the entire country. The general enfranchisement of the negro by the Republican Party, and the attempt to place him in government over the white man, and to sustain him in that position with military force, solidified the white people of the South in the Democratic Party. That it was a terrible mistake, I believe that the enlightened North will now admit. That it was the result of the suffering and hate en-

gendered by the war must be admitted. If white supremacy were in jeopardy in any part of this great country today, the North would spend its last dollar and shed its last drop of blood to save it. If the loss of one foot of American soil from the Union were an issue today, the South would spend its last dollar and shed the last drop of its blood to protect and save it. These questions will never again disturb the peace of our country, and the people of all sections, for their own good and that of their children, should let the "dead past bury its dead." The greatest orator who ever spoke the English language, in my opinion, in speaking of the Civil War and the South, said, "The South was in the wrong and the time will come when they will say 'We are victors who have been conquered by the right; freedom conquered us, and freedom will cultivate our fields, educate our children and build for us the greatest civilization on this earth." That prophesy is being fulfilled today in the hearts and minds of millions of boys and girls throughout Dixie. When the great orator made that statement he paid my people the greatest tribute that ever fell from human lips. To have it said of a people who have been in the wrong that the time will come when they will have the wisdom to see their wrong, and then the bigness of character and the courage to admit their mistakes is the finest compliment that could be paid them. For the good of the entire country I challenge the North, at least by its attitude, to admit the mistake of its policies of reconstruction. The benefits which came to the negro through his emanacipation are beyond human description, but great as these are,

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the benefits and blessings which have come to the white man, are a thousand times greater. From the depths of my soul I make this statement. The North made a great mistake in enfranchising the negro in the manner in which it did. He was wholly unprepared for universal suffrage. He knew absolutely nothing of its meaning, for he was a stranger to the ideals of self-government. If his right of suffrage had been predicated upon intelligence and education, we would have avoided many years of bitter misunderstanding and strife. Under such a policy the negro would have greatly benefited. It would have furnished him an incentive for enlightenment. He would have then divided his suffrage, which would have encouraged rather than retarded the building of twoparty government. He would have been influenced by issues and principles, and not alone by tradition. The question of the negro's political rights and status in the South has vexed many sincere whites and negroes, and it will continue to do so until we reach some intelligent basis upon which to agree. That the negro is universally entitled to the right of suffrage regardless of his intelligence to express it correctly, I deny. That he should be disfranchised just because he is a negro, is not only inhuman and unfair, but violates the very foundation principles of life, liberty and happiness. I believe that his right of suffrage should be based upon his ability to intelligently understand the purposes and principles of free government. I believe that the solution of this question rests upon him as much as upon the white men. The white man should offer the inducement for intelligent develop-

ment, and encourage him in his efforts to attain it, but the negro must begin to vote intelligently for issues and principles, and not alone from tradition and prejudice. When he does this the negroes will affiliate with various political parties, and then there will be no political race question in the South. so long as he affiliates only with the Republican Party, it will be assumed that his vision is turned backward, and not forward, and just that long he will be denied his political freedom, and help to retard the development of two-party government in the South. It is claimed by many thoughtless persons that political equality between the races will inevitably lead to social and racial amalgamation. This I most emphatically deny, for when the negro has the intelligence to understand the true meaning and purpose of suffrage, he will have the intelligence not to seek but to oppose racial amalgamation. The only absolute hope of racial continuance must be founded upon racial pride and racial purity. The greatest objection to universal sufferage for the negro has not resulted from fear of social or racial amalgamation, but has come from an appreciation of the danger of giving the ballot to such a large illiterate group, and from the fact that he has been influenced almost entirely by tradition to affiliate only with the Republican Party. It is a fact established by history that intelligent free men differ. When they do not differ, especially on political and economic questions, it is conclusive that they are not intelligent, but are influenced by passion and prejudice. Intelligence, therefore, must be the passport of the negro. The Democratic politicians of the South

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who raise the negro question against the Republicans, from a viewpoint of racial amalgamation, do so entirely out of a sense of prejudice. They do so to influence the illiterate white man to vote the Democratic ticket. When the time comes that they feel they need the vote of the negro to win, they will not hesitate to accept him in full political fellowship, without any fear of social or racial amalgamation. There has been too much evidence in past elections for them to deny this statement.

## CHAPTER XV

## REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION

DO NOT hesitate to say that up until the candidacy of President Hoover in 1928 the Republicans were equally as guilty as the democrats in preventing the development of two-party government in the South, and in injustice towards the negro. The Republican leadership of the North handled Federal patronage in the South not for the purpose of developing and maintaining efficient and representative government, but for the primary purpose of controlling the Republican organizations in the South and for selecting and controlling the delegations at the National nominating conventions. That their domination might be complete without having to divide the major spoils, they refused to recognize men of independent thought and conviction. If intelligent and independent factions began to develop, selfish leadership in the North used the influence of patronage to encourage the building of opposing forces and to send contesting delegations to the conventions with which to crush the independent organizations. They made their alignments with the type of Southern white men who were only interested in the spoils of patronage and who were satisfied to support themselves with a few negroes whose ambitions were satisfied with a few dollars or with a trip to the National convention, or to Washington. The Southern white men who did these things knew that such methods were obnoxious to the Southern

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white man, and since they were only interested in patronage, they wanted anything else but competition. Senator Norris said in 1928, "They (meaning the selfish Northern Republican leaders) buy and sell the delegates from the South just as the merchant sells his wares over the counter." If he were in any measure correct, the infamy for such practices should fall heavier upon the North because the responsibility for their acts was greater, and the rewards which they expected to receive by such perfidy were larger than those of the South. It is common knowledge that the nominations of President Taft in 1912 and President Harding in 1920 were brought about very largely by such methods, and it is also common knowledge that the Republican Party and the country at large have suffered beyond estimation as a result. I was an interested spectator at the Convention in 1920 that nominated President Harding. A number of negro delegates were there from the South. One night after returning to headquarters from the Convention Hall where considerable balloting and trading had been going on between the forces of Johnson, Wood and other candidates, a certain negro returned to the headquarters of a Southern delegation with ten one thousand dollar bills and the following conversation took place between him and a certain white man on the delegation:

(White Man) "Where have you been?"

(Negro Man) "I'se been over to Mr. Hardin's headquarters."

(White Man) "Where did you get that money?"

(Negro Man) "I got it over dare, dey has plenty of money over dare."

(White Man) "Listen, nigger, we are supporting so and so, first, last and all the time, and if you don't take that money back we will break your d— neck."

(Negro Man) "Yas suh, if you says take it back, I'll take it back all right, but dey has plenty of money over dare, and I thout we might as well git a little of it while we are up here; I'se satisfied dat Mr. Hardin' gwine be nominated anyway and I shore could use a little of dis money, boss."

(White Man) "Well, you take that money back. You know that we have agreed that so and so is the man we want for President, and that goes."

(Negro Man) "Yas suh, dat's right, but frum what I'se learned our man can't make the grade and since dey has plenty of money over at de Hardin' head-quarters, and acting as do' deys wantin' us to have some of it, I thought we might as well git a little of it while we can."

The negro left with the money, but Harding was nominated. Who was to blame, the Negro? No, the gang who gave him the money.

Under such practices nothing else could be expected than that the very great majority of intelligent patriotic white men in the South would turn in disgust from the Republican Party and affiliate with the party which offered some hope of honest competition, at least in state and local affairs. And during all of such practices the negro of the South, who supported and made possible, but unintentionally, such crime and degradation against good government, was re-

#### REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION

warded with the rankest deception and ingratitude by the Republican leaders of both North and South, for after the nominations he was not given any of the spoils of patronage by the bosses of the South, and was forgotten by the North until the next election. To sustain his faith and to maintain his loyalty a few of the negro leaders were given an opportunity to shake hands with the President at the White House, and a few more were made doormen or janitors at the Federal Departments. The Republican leadership of both North and South dared not tell the negro the truth, and that is, that this is a white man's country, and that the Republican leaders of both North and South, as well as the leaders of all other parties, who love fame and money above the good of their country, will use him as long as it is to their selfish interests, and that so long as his support can be purchased with filthy lucre or flattery, his support will hinder rather than encourage the development of two-party government. I am a Republican because I believe in the ideals and purposes of the Republican Party, but I must confess that the attitude of a large percentage of the Republican leadership in the past towards the negro, both North and South, has been such as to raise a stench in the nostrils of every honest Amer-The negro has one beautiful characteristic, and that is he has gratitude. He knows that the Republican Party under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln freed him, and for this he has been grateful. For his gratitude, he has many times been rewarded with ingratitude and deception, and has been used to hinder, rather than encourage good government, and

the North has been more guilty than the South, for "where there is much, much is required." When Republican Administrations at Washington stop using patronage and a little money to control and coerce party organizations in the South for the purpose of securing delegate support at the National Conventions, then two-party government with all of the blessings which accompany it will be a fact in the South, and the negro, as well as the white man will be the beneficiary. At Kansas City in 1928, the convention which nominated Mr. Hoover, a vivid example of the methods pursued, was forcefully brought to my attention. Perry Howard, a negro lawyer of Jackson, Mississippi, was in full control of the Mississippi delegation. The Hoover managers felt that they needed the Mississippi fellows to bring about the Hoover nomination, and they were, therefore, courting and loving Perry Howard around there as though he were a prince from the celestial world. Howard and his Mississippi delegates voted for Mr. Hoover, but after the nomination they had no more use for him, and to offer the public an excuse for his wilful betraval, they caused him to be indicted in a Mississippi court under the charge that he had accepted money or some consideration for recommending some of his white friends for Federal jobs; and to add shame and insult both to the negro, and to the white people of Mississippi, for this infamous betrayal, they sent Mable Willebrandt, a white woman, down into Mississippi, to prosecute Perry Howard, a negro. Mr. Hoover's man Friday-Walter Brown-engineered this damnable insult both to the negroes and

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the white people of the South. I will say, that in spite of the incident above. Mr. Hoover's nomination in 1928 was freer of this practice than the nomination of any other republican candidate for a half century or longer. In 1928 the people of the South sincerely supported Mr. Hoover, that is, the intelligent thinking element supported him, for the following reasons: First, many of the great problems of the South were and are engineering problems, and he being at the time regarded as a great engineer, and having visited the South during the Mississippi River flood, endeared him with the better element of the white people; and secondly, the people of the South are sentimentalists, and the record of Mr. Hoover as a humanitarian in Europe aroused for him sufficient support among the best people of the South to defeat many of the old patronage bosses and organizations who had been largely supported by the negroes. Unfortunately for the President, as well as for the South, after his election he selected for Postmaster General a man of the That man began to play the same old philosophy. same old game. In his ambition to control the delegates from the South to the 1932 convention, he refused to recognize many of the independent, intelligent organizations and leaders in the South which had come into being under the inspiration of Mr. Hoover's candidacy in 1928. He sent into Florida a political tramp from Indiana, who, together with a hand-picked, Washington-imposed patronage committee, denied to the people of this state the right to select their own public officials, and denied to them the right of self-determination through their own

organization which had been strong enough to carry the state a few months before. And then many honest but misunderstanding Republicans in the North wonder why the South remains solidly a Democratic country. The South today is free of patronage influence from Washington. Already scheming Republican leaders of the North are laying plans to try to control the delegates from the South at the next convention. In view of the developing bitterness between the Republicanism of the industrial and financial East and the agricultural West, the South will be the balance of power in the next convention with its approximately one-fourth of the delegate strength. If it is sufficiently wise and independent, and I believe that it will be, to appreciate its opportunity and responsibility, we will have seen an end of exploitation and injustice by selfish political racketeers of the North, and then we can look forward to better conditions.

## CHAPTER XVI

#### SUPERSTITIONS

FOR MANY years after the emancipation the intelligence of the negro of the South was of course limited. They were greatly influenced by superstition, flattery, fear and deceitful practices. believed in "spirits," "spooks," "raw heads," and "bloody bones." They knew but little or nothing of life, the forces and power of nature or the laws of cause and effect. Many white people were afflicted with the same ignorances. These were the methods which the white man used through the early Ku Klux Klan to arrest political control from the negro. number of Klansmen robed their horses in white, and they put on solid white robes and head-gear with a large rubber bag enclosed. They would ride up to a negro's house at night and tell him to bring them a bucket of water. When he brought it some man would turn it up as though he were drinking, and he would empty the bucket into the rubber bag; then he would ask the negro to bring him another bucket of water, and still another bucket. Finally he would tell the negro that he was very thirsty, as he had not had a drink since he was killed at the battle of Shiloh. There was not one negro out of a thousand who could stand that.

When I first began the practice of law in Mississippi many years ago, I went into the court house at Macon one morning to try a civil case, and when I

took a seat in the bar I noticed that they were trying a negro man for murder, killing his wife. I soon caught the drift of the testimony and it was very interesting. The defendant's name was George. His deceased wife was named Mandy. The prosecuting attorney introduced an old negro woman as a witness, and the testimony developed by her was about as follows:

- Q. "What is your name?
- A. My name is Mary Johnson.
- Q. Where do you live, Mary?
- A. I stays out on Mr. Hardee's place.
- Q. Do you know George, the defendant here?
- A. Yas sah, I knows him.
- Q. How long have you known him?
- A. I'se knowed him all his life.
- Q. Do you know his wife, Mandy.
- A. Yas sah, I knowed her too.
- O. Where is she?
- A. She is dead.
- Q. Do you know what caused her death?
- A. Yas sah, George, he killed her.
- Q. Did you see him kill her?
- A. No suh, but he killed her.
- Q. Well, if you didn't see him kill her how do you know that he did?
- A. Cause when he killed her he run off; and when we buried her we put an egg in her hand and buried her face down and den George, he come back. Shore he kilt his wife. He knows he did.
  - O. Is that all you know about the case?
  - A. Yas suh.

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Prosecuting Attorney: You can come down, Mary. The prosecuting attorney introduced a half dozen witnesses and all of them testified that George killed his wife because he ran off, and that they put an egg in her hand and buried her with her face down, and then he came back. The court directed a verdict of acquittal.

There is a community in Coosa County, Alabama, which has had many negroes since their emancipation. They had a Baptist Church there that was one of the prominent negro churches of the state. At this church they held great revivals. An uncle of mine, who was a mischievous boy and who enjoyed playing innocent pranks upon people, knew that the negroes were having a great revival at this church. During the services some negro preacher would pray loudly and earnestly. In his petitions be begged the Lord to come down and be with them. My uncle climbed up into the loft of this church during the afternoon, and after dark the church was finally crowded with negroes. The preacher preached a great sermon, and they were all happy, and he knelt down to pray. He began to raise his voice and finally, as usual, began to beg the Lord to come down and be with them. appealed to the Lord in about the following language:

"Oh Lord, we need you tonight. Yes Lord, we really need you tonight. We need you right here with us tonight. Lord, I beg you to come down and be with us in this meeting tonight. I know that you will hear our prayer. Won't you, Lord, won't you come

down and be with us tonight?"

My uncle, who was in the loft of the church, said,—

"Yes, I hear you, Solomon, and I'll be down in a few minutes."

This scared the negroes so that they became panicky and stampeded, and in their wild, mad rush to get out of the church several of them were injured rather severely.

My uncle was a small boy, but when my grandfather got through with him, he did not play any more pranks on the negroes.

Our farm surrounded Weogufka Baptist Church and cemetery. Our house was about one-fourth of a mile south of the church. The church is on the east side of the highway and the cemetery or graveyard is on the west side. We had a negro boy working with us who had worked and been around the church and cemetery for several years. One afternoon he went up to the little village of Weogufka, which is two miles north of the church, and he was delayed in getting home until near midnight. In the meantime a farmer, living south of us and who drove a yoke of oxen to a wagon, came down from Sylacauga, and being intoxicated he went to sleep in the wagon, and the oxen, being tired when they got to the cemetery, left the road and went in and got tangled among the tombstones. Tust about the time the negro boy came walking down by there, the farmer awoke, and being both drunk and lost he began to yell, "Where am I, where am I?" He so frightened the negro boy that he ran to our house and fell in the front porch exhausted, screaming and yelling to my father to "Git up quick, the world is coming to an end, the dead folks are coming to life in the graveyard." My father got

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his lantern and went down to the cemetery and found the farmer and his team and helped him to get back into the road.

The white people were responsible for the superstitions of the negroes. The white people believed in spooks, spirits, witches, and during the long winter nights they sat around the hearth fires and told all kinds of ghost stories while the children and the negroes listened to them. I have seen hundreds of babies around whose necks were tied mole feet to protect them against evil spirits. Some children who had bad tonsils suffered intense pain in their legs and arms and many parents would take them and have honey bees sting their legs and arms for this trouble. Almost every child at the age of about two years had sore mouth. This was called "thrash." The mother carried the baby to a "conjurer." These ignorant superstitions have passed, but thirty-five or forty years ago they were common and greatly influenced the people of the south.

### CHAPTER XVII

### RACIAL FRIENDSHIP AND PROGRESS

I WOULD like to say to my white friends in the North who have had deep concern about the political rights of the negro in the South, that the measure of criticism which you can justly bring against us for the way and manner in which we have handled this question can be brought with equal force against you. You may claim for justification, at the Bar of Public Opinion, that you have granted to the negro who has come to you equal rights of political freedom. You know that this is not true, but if we admit for the sake of argument that you have, then may I ask, are you convinced by results that your course has been correct? And may I further ask if you are entirely convinced that the methods and philosophies which you have been pursuing in dealing with this question would have proven equally as satisfactory in the South? In justice to us you should not overlook the fact that the negro came to you after fifty years of experience and education in the South. With the limited experience which you have now had, can you honestly say, that if our positions had been reversed that you could have made greater progress? These questions are not asked to the selfish fanatic or to the ignorant agitator, but to the sincere and honest Northerner whose desire is a greater America. When we look back over the past for guidance in the future, we will be false to our conscience and dishonest with our

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souls if we do not confess that if we could retrace our steps we could and would have made improvement. In judging the motives and measure of success of any people concerning any issue, is it not fair that we try to understand the conditions and circumstances by which they have been surrounded, and if after reasonable time and honest effort they have shown substantial progress, support them with sympathy and encouragement in the future? Has the negro made progress in the South? We can refer the earnest inquirer to no higher authority than the negro himself for the answer to this question. But if this is not enough then we invite the questioner to visit the Department of Commerce at the Nation's Capitol and read from its record the hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of all kinds of fine property which the negro owns throughout the South; the money which he has on deposit in our banks; the churches and school houses which he owns in every community and which are his greatest hope of the future. And if this is not yet convincing then come to the South and travel all over it and see the homes of millions of educated and contented negroes, talk to the hundreds of able negro lawyers whose standing at the Bar is both pleasant and respectable. When this has been done, it will be found that no race of people in all human history has made the progress, spiritual, social, and economic which the Southern negro has made in the short span of seventy-five years. I confess that in my honest opinion, much of his progress has resulted from his earnest and deep conviction in the principles and teachings of Jesus Christ. To the white man of

the South he is indebted for this faith and inspiration. Whatever may be our personal views concerning the divinity of the chief character of the New Testament, the fact remains undisputed that there is no finer code of ethics by which man can shape his conduct and attitude towards his fellows than is found in the principles of Jesus Christ. The progress which the two races have made together, the cordial friendship and sympathy which has and does exist between them, assure us that the future shall be one of peace and progress. The common faith which both races have had in the teachings of the Bible has been a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to lead them to a higher standard. We have differed as to the social and political rights of the negro, but in this one standard of faith and hope we have found a common fellowship. Surely there must be somewhere an intellectual center which finds special favor with man, irrespective of race and color, and while we haven't the wisdom to fathom all the cross currents, inspires us to a final destiny that is not merely an empty dream! The vision and courage of many Southern negroes, led by the immortal Booker T. Washington, have been as brilliant and inspiring as that of him who led his people of Israel from Egyptian bondage. Who can doubt that they found their vision and the strength to sustain it from the record of the Great "Giver of the Law"?

The Southern negro believes his religion and he will not camouflage anything in connection with his church. I remember that when I was a boy in Coosa County, Alabama, a prominent mulatto negro lived

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there by the name of Levy Whittaker. He was a good trader and business man and he accumulated considerable property. He was also a leading negro politician. He was in every sense a successful man, but he never joined any church. He drank some liquor and at times used profane language. Levy finally died. His people wanted to give him a prominent funeral, so they sent to Montgomery for a noted negro preacher to come and preach his funeral. Being a prominent citizen, many white people and all the negroes attended his funeral. When the noted minister from Montgomery got up to preach Levy's funeral, he said, "Sisters, brothers, and friends, I have come all the way from Montgomery to preach Levy Whittaker's funeral. There was not a minister in this community big enough to preach Levy's funeral. They had to send to the State Capitol at Montgomery for a preacher big enough to preach his funeral. Well, I am here. Levy Whittaker is in Hell. I didn't send him there. He chose to go there and that is where he is. I am not going to be false to my Lord. I am not going to be false to my Bible by telling you that he is in Heaven. I am sorry for him. He had an opportunity to repent and be saved, but so far as I can learn he did not. He turned a deaf ear to the Law and the Prophet. He denied the pleadings of the Holy Spirit. He had his chance but he refused it. This should be a warning to all of you to accept Salvation while it is not too late." He closed. Of course, the people, white and colored, were dumbfounded. They expected to hear the usual sermon of Hope and Consolation, but that minister

was too honest with his conscience and too loyal to his faith to say something that he did not believe.

Those who criticize our apparent superstitions and follies would do well not to forget the old proverb that "God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." Whatever shortcomings may be charged against us in our attitude and conduct toward the negro there is one fact which stands out like the mountain peak above the surrounding foot-hills that can be accepted by the civilized world, and that is, that the white man and the negro of the South have found a mutual friendship and understanding that assures and will not retard the future spiritual, educational, agricultural and industrial development of the South. May I inquire of my Northern brother if he can say as much? That there are certain adverse racial elements which are hindering the development of some of our Northern cities must be admitted by everyone. It is with a deep sense of pride that I say that I would not exchange our Southern negroes for many of the racial elements which are burdening our Northern cities. When our colored friends who have left the South and gone North feel that they would like to return to the South, if they ever do, we extend to them a most cordial welcome. The political status of the negro is solving itself, by the leadership of both races coming to recognize that a fair degree of education and intelligence should form the basis for suffrage. If this had been the policy from the beginning he would have escaped many of the evils and injustices which he has known. The intelligent white men have come to feel that they have nothing to fear from

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the intelligent patriotic negro, and the intelligent patriotic negro has come to feel that there is nothing to be gained for his race by extending the right of suffrage to those who cannot comprehend its obligations. Whatever confusion still exists in this respect comes from the agitator who does not understand the best interest of either race. The negro is a natural psychologist, and centuries of servitude gave him a peculiar intuition which has advanced him far. ability to interpret the white man's thoughts, and to adjust himself to the white man's customs and appliances are really marvelous. My father used to say during the days of the country drummer, or traveling man, that a negro boy who unhitched and rehitched his horse to the buggy had better index into the man's character than any member of the family at whose table and fireside he spent the night. In my twenty years of practice of the law in the South, I have often noticed the peculiar ability of the average negro who had business in the court to influence the court and jury in his behalf. That is true because he is a natural psychologist.

Harriet Beecher Stowe and other writers have drawn tragic pictures of the negro slaves of the South. Many people of the North still have cold chills of hate to run up and down their spines in their uncompromising bitterness toward the white people of the South because of the slavery of the negro. Oh I know that the majority of good people of the North deny this statement, and try to make apologies for the minority who still express such sentiments, just as the majority of the good people of the South make apologies for

the fanatics who live down here, but I have lived in the North sufficiently long to know that the above statement is true. I do not believe that man possesses the power to exaggerate the horrors of slavery, but let me say here and now, that there never was a time when the condition of the negro slave in the South was one-tenth as bad as that of millions of economic slaves of both North and South at this time, and this in a land which has solved the problems of production. and a land of "Overproduction." The North controls the finances of this country, as well as the politics at Washington, and if the failure to eradicate human misery is an unpardonable sin in the sight of succeeding generations, then my friends in the North have a fine job removing the beam from their own eves before they seek to remove the mote from the eyes of the South. The negro slave of the South was cared for to the limits of his master's ability, with but a scattering exception here and there, while millions of white people in this country today-children, old people, teachers, educated people, laborers who are willing to work-are not as well off as a mule. Millions starve in America today—not for bread possibly -but for an opportunity to live clean, wholesome, happy lives. Millions of the finest girls in America starve today for an opportunity to fulfill the highest impulses of womanhood-to have a husband, home and babies—to reproduce the race. These millions enslaved in America, North and South, because a small percentage of selfish individuals, supported by a pharisaical church and political demagoguery, controls the commercial life-blood of the nation, and

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through an interest system on money and credits, manipulate prices and exact profits which have destroyed the very hope of the masses. In order to free the negro of the South from physical slavery there had to be born a new party and a new leadership, and in order to free the masses from economic slavery it may be necessary to give birth to a new party and a new leadership. If President Roosevelt fails there is one thing certain, in my opinion, and that is that the people of this country will not turn again to Hoover-Brown-Hurley-Mellon and Mills for leadership. Let us hope that our country shall not be drenched with human blood in order to free the economic slaves! There is too much intelligence and too much patriotism for that, but regardless of the means necessary to free them, the principles of evolution must not fail, and the sun must again stand still for one to believe that they will not be freed. I believe it to be the province of the Church to create and keep alive such a moral responsibility among business and political leadership that government and business will be conducted according to the golden rule. In order to do this we must have a religion of humanity, man's well being here and now the highest worship. When the crisis came in the spring of 1933, and the dark clouds of revolution began to form throughout the land, the financial leadership which had abused its obligation to humanity, in consort with the political and society parson, engaged the national radio chains and sought to sing and to soothe the people back into submission, that made one think of the snake charmer who hypnotizes the cobra into peace and sleep. These

deceptive opiates may work for a while, but those in authority might remember, that a suffering public is seeking out the causes for its symptoms of pain. The evils will be corrected, and within the meantime the test of our intelligence will be our ability to restrain ourselves from all forms of violence, until permanent relief can be had.

### CHAPTER XVIII

### MODERN HEALTH CONDITIONS OF SOUTH

MANY people in the North have believed that long residence in the South retards the mental and physical efficiency of white people. Nothing is further from being correct. The climate is very equitable but bracing, and tends to the development of the highest mental and physical efficiency. The average rainfall, the rays of the sun, the frequency of gentle breezes which tend to pure healthy air, together with the possibility of outdoor sports and activities throughout the entire year, are all conducive to the greatest mental and physical development. Before the spread of scientific knowledge the masses in the South in a large percentage were burdened with malaria, hookworm, communicable disease, childhood disease, focal infections, specific troubles, malnutrition, etc. With the coming of science this condition has completely changed. Within a few more years by intelligent teaching and application the South will be the healthiest section with the lowest mortality rate of any part of the country. By screening of the houses, and by sanitation and other modern methods, vellow fever has been entirely eradiated, and malaria is fast being and will soom be entirely eliminated. Malaria has been the white man's greatest physical impediment, but he is conquering it. It has been costly and expensive because of its slowness. doesn't kill but it makes lazy worthless human beings, void of ambition. Childhood and communicable dis-

eases are fast passing, and infant mortality is decreasing rapidly. The insurance companies and the manufacturers of different serums and commodities through the press and over the radios, together with the schools, doctors and dentists, are educating the people toward health consciousness. The doctors, dentists and scientists have been and are the greatest benefactors of the South, and the radio, the press and the traveling public come next. The climate, water and chemical elements of our foods are all conducive to mental and physical efficiency, and to longevity. I do not recall ever having seen a native Florida woman who had goiter. Thousands of cases come here and get well. Bone tuberculosis and pneumonia are almost unknown among us Floridans, especially, and is very limited throughout the South. If our Northern friends would stop bringing us colds and influenza down here we would soon not know what The iodine and vitamine contents of our fish, fruits and vegetables, as well as the curative forces of the sun's rays, make Florida especially, a natural sanitarium. The climate of the South, together with the foods which we eat, have a tendency to mature our girls a few months earlier than their Northern sisters, but it also gives them a peculiar femininity, beauty, and passion, which is one of the South's most valued assets. If a man desires to maintain his youth and vitality even beyond the three score and ten mark, he should not overlook eating one Florida grapefruit each day, for it is the best natural tonic I have ever seen. The only trouble is that it might bring about an "overproduction" of people. You know that we hear a lot about "overproduction" these days. [112]

### CHAPTER XIX

### WRONG PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT RETARDS PROGRESS

IN THE spring of 1932 I was in Washington and I I spent some time with a distinguished politician who was advocating a five-billion-dollar appropriation for a program of public works, building post offices, and other buildings, to give ten million men employment. I said to him: "The South has millions and millions of acres of the finest land that lies out of doors; the Federal Land Banks, insurance and mortgage companies, as well as other corporations and individuals own millions of fine farms that will grow all kinds of crops, and the lands are low in price; the South has the finest climate and water in the world; all kinds of building materials, and instead of spending five billion dollars for public buildings which we do not now need, why don't you get the Federal Land Banks, the insurance and mortgage companies and others who own those farms to cooperate with you, and why don't you spend two or three billion dollars helping a couple of million families now living in the cities of the North to get out on those farms where they can have a garden, a cow, some chickens, pigs, fruits, plenty of fire-wood, etc?" His reply was, "There is an overproduction of farm crops now, and that would also be socialism." Overproduction— Socialism!!! An overproduction of what? An overproduction of grain, hay and cotton. Why? Because

the South is not buying the grain and hay from the Middle West any more and it can't be sold abroad. Overproduction of cotton because it isn't fit to eat. There is not an overproduction of healthy, happy and comfortable children in this country; there is not an overproduction of milk, butter, eggs, vegetables, fruits and other necessary foods to feed them on; there is not an overproduction of healthy, attractive and sanitary homes for them to live in; there is not an overproduction of flowers, music, fine paintings, good books for them to live with and receive their inspiration from. Yes, we have an overproduction, but an over-production of what? Unemployed men and boys; and an overproduction of crime, disease, poverty and anarchy; an overproduction of children living in disease-infested, crime-breeding slums and tenement houses; an overproduction of boys and young men incarcerated in prisons and penitentiaries; an overproduction of nomads of social, political and economic follies, tramps walking the highways and the roads of America begging for bread, sleeping on the grounds and living lives worse than hell; and an overproduction of beautiful girls and young women, the motherhood of the future, having to compromise their health and honor to get a bed to sleep in and a sandwich to eat; an overproduction of selfish boodlers, grafters, bunksters and peanut politicians; an overproduction of corrupt, crooked, selfish and incompetent public officials and tax-eaters; an overproduction of selfish, incompetent bankers who have forgotten that integrity, ability and real estate are the best securities ever offered for credit at any time, any-

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where on the face of this earth, and always will be; an overproduction of weasel-minded, polly-foxing politicians who glorify public office and the greed and graft that they expect to get out of it above the good of their country; an overproduction of prohibition worshipers and political parsons who know no more about the meaning of true worship, or the history and the philosophy of any religion than a hog knows about etiquette. Yes, we have an overproduction of the above things. The way to get rid of most of it is to get ten million of the people of this country, who are starving without jobs in our cities, out on farms in the South and then help them to get started to living healthy, wholesome, constructive lives. have commercialized agriculture in this country since the abnormal demand for farm products during the World War, and then this commercial agriculture has been running down to Washington asking the government to save the farmer. It is all bunk, pure and simple, and every intelligent man knows it. If we had statesmen in Washington instead of politicians, they would tell the commercial farmers to go home and sell their commercial farms and get out of the business and let the folks farm who want to live on the farm away from the hustle and strife of commercial life. The taxpayers will get tired of underwriting the profits of special interests in this country after awhile, and great will be the fall of certain politicians when they do. Industry and finance robbed the farmers for a long time with all kind of schemes of finance, banking, gambling, transportation, etc., and now the farmer has no moral scruples about robbing the

leaders of finance and industry. A few bankers rob and starve millions of children and old people of a right to life, and when some victim fights back and kidnaps the child of the banker a Governor of a great state approves the acts of the mob who does the kidnapping. We are still akin to the beasts of the jungle if we have shed our tusks and claws. Divine intelligence and power never intended that farming should be a speculative or commercial business. He intended that gentlemen and patriots should farm, and he made a law of supply and demand to protect them against the commercial hogs. If we can get American agriculture back in harmony with this law, there won't be any farm problem, and ten million more people can live on the farm and be independent and happy without there being any overproduction. Get the speculator with his ninety thousand acres in wheat and his two hundred thousand acres in cotton, which he farms with hired help and machinery, out of the business, and let the folks farm who love the soil, and who desire to live away from the hustle, bustle, corruption and sham of the city life, where they can dream, love and build with God, and we won't have any farm problems, and our country will be safe against every ism that comes. This is going to have to be done sooner or later, regardless of who is President. Such an agriculture has been the foundation of every civilized government on earth and will have to continue to be the foundation of this government if it is to remain civilized. If the government will quit underwriting any farmer who has more than 320 acres in cultivation under any kind of farm relief, and let the

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big fellows who have in cultivation more than that sink or swim, live or die, but will help the little farmer who has less than that to get free of debt, and then keep the interest hogs and the gamblers from eating him up, we will soon have the finest country on earth The South can support a hundred million people under such a national policy, and they will be independent and happy. The South is the best place on earth to live and to farm or engage in industrial pursuits. No one who really knows the South can deny this fact. Why, when the various industrial codes were adopted the differential in the wage scale between the North and the South of approximately 30 per cent was an admission by everyone that the South is a 30 per cent better place to live and do business than anywhere else.

This country has been in a bad way during the past few years, but the blame for it can be laid absolutely at the door of our politicians and preachers. If they had done their duty we wouldn't be burdened with the public debt that we are; we would not be suffering under the taxation that is confiscating the homes of the people; the money and income producing property of the country wouldn't be centralized into the hands of a few people; there would have been no need for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Home Loan Banks and other paternalistic agencies created by the government and supported by the people for the benefit of the few. Talk about socialism! The Hoover brand of socialism was the most damnable form of socialism that was ever conceived by the mind of man. It was the type of socialism that be-

lieved in sucking the blood of the millions for organized minorities. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, created to turn over billions of dollars of the taxpapers' money to the banks, insurance, mortgage companies and railroads, was his form of socialism. His form of socialism underwrote the business, the property, the stocks, the bonds, and the profits of the banks, the railroads, the insurance, and mortgage companies, while the business and the property of the merchant, the lawyer, the physician, the druggist, and that of scores of others, as well as the jobs and positions of the artisans, clerks, stenographers, and others could sustain them, or they could sink and lose all they had accumulated in a lifetime. It was necessary to save the banks, railroads, insurance and mortgage companies in order to save the invested capital of the stock and bond holders, but thirty million men, women, boys and girls could starve both materially and spiritually, or assume a status of peasants and beggars. Any government that does not deal with all the people on the same basis of equity and equality can not long expect the loyal support of its people, and is headed for doom and decay. The banks use this very money to rob the people of their property through interest rates and other "strictly legal" methods. In many states in the Union, sap-headed politicians have licensed "Loan Shark" and "Family Loan Service" concerns to charge the poor an interest rate of three and one-half per cent per month, or forty-two per cent per year. A salaried man goes to a bank to borrow two or three hundred dollars. Many of these public parasites which are now supported by the Govern-

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ment through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation turn him down because he "hasn't sufficient collateral," but before he leaves, they quietly suggest that he might get it from the "Family Loan Company," and they let him have it by taking an assignment of his salary and a mortgage on his car, his furniture, and other property, and they charge him three and one-half per cent per month, or forty-two per cent interest per year. Immediately they take his paper and go to the local bank and borrow what money they need to continue to operate. "Family Loan Companies" in most instances are just side shows of some bank. The borrower has to be honest and industrious or the "Family Loan Company" would not let him have the money, and he has to be regularly employed with a steady income. is a good risk at the bank, but they can't rob him directly, so they operate through a side agency. Any legislature that would pass such a law should be electrocuted. The bankers of this country have been too busy during the past decade handling large bond issues and conniving with sap-headed politicians how to control and dominate the governments of the world in the interest of the most monstrous, heartless, unsympathetic combine that ever existed on this earth, to get acquainted with the masses of humanity and to understand their needs and problems. The bankers have quit the church, the lodges and the community activities whose first motive should be the building of manhood and womanhood, and are giving their thought to golf that they may be physically fit to deal with the weasel-minded politician. Thousands of

banks have failed in this country because the bankers have so lived and conducted themselves that they have lost the love and confidence of the people, and because they have quit banking for the purpose of serving humanity, and have established bond departments, trust departments, real estate and investment departments, family loan departments and legal departments, for the sole purpose of securing power and making money. Talk about Socialism! The Federal Reserve Banking System is the rankest form of socialism, but it is socialism for the banks at the expense of the masses; the Reconstruction Finance Corporation only exceeds it in perfidy because of its size, and the Home Loan Bank System is their baby, designed for the purpose of kidding the public. gether they are picking the pockets of the producers of our national wealth. The Home Loan Bank System as originally set up and advertised was the rankest political demagoguery and fraud that was ever brazenly brought into being in the history of legislative bodies. President Roosevelt revamped it and I believe it will now do a little good. The insurance and mortgage companies and Building and Loan Associations were loaded down with frozen high interest bearing paper, and they, together with the banks which own and control them, desired to unload this junk upon the taxpayers. When it was suggested to provide in the bill that the banks should make loans at low rate of interest direct to the home owner, the banks, insurance and mortgage companies and building and loan association held up their hands in holy horror and howled that that would be socialism, putting the government

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in business in competition with private business; but it was fine, good business, saving the "dear people" when it was provided that the taxpayers should absorb the greed and the mistakes of these financial combines.

During the period of Coolidge prosperity the insurance and mortgage companies encouraged the people. the salaried man, the clerks, the artisans, the merchants, and the professional man to build, or buy, a home, improve the old house, expand, and they used the highest powered salesmen obtainable to do this. They made the loans at high commissions and high interest rates. This was all fine, but when the slump came, when prices dropped, when the artisan lost his job, when the merchant's business would not pay the rent; when the professional man could hardly keep the office open, these same insurance and mortgage companies demanded payment, and when it was not forthcoming, they foreclosed. Millions of homes have been taken away from the merchants, artisans, and professional people, by these insurance and mortgage companies. If it is the business of government to underwrite the business, property, and profits of the people, then it should underwrite the business and profits of everybody and not just that of a few large corporations and special groups. If the patriots who laid the foundation of this government could return, they would drive our modern wealth-serving and time-serving worshipers of gold from power the same as they drove British parasites and oppressors back across the sea.

I abhor socialism with every impulse of my soul,

for at the end of it I can see nothing but dissolution and decay, but if we must have socialism, then for God's sake and for the sake of humanity, let's have it for the masses and not just for the favored few. Socialism! What about the railroads? Every intelligent man in this country knows that the old methods of railroading are over. The people are entitled to, and are finally going to have, regardless of whom it hurts, the best and cheapest modes of transportation. After there has been the most efficient coordination of railways, waterways, highways and airways, so that each will serve where it can serve best and cheapest without destructive and unfair competition from the other, there may be hope for the railroads, but within the interim it is not fair and just for the people to have to underwrite the profits of an inflated, swollen, dead carcass. The railroads bitterly oppose the government assisting any other modes of transportation. They fight canals, highways and airways. They have possibly forgotten that during the early days of railroad building in this country the people subsidized and underwrote them in rights of way, land grants, bonds, cash donations, franchises and other ways in value which were in excess of the replacement cost of every mile of railroad in the United States, and then they began to water their holdings and sell stocks and bonds to the public without providing reserves and sinking funds with which to discharge these obligations, and when the roads finally became top-heavy they caused the roads to be thrown into receiverships and in this way cancelled obligations held by the public in excess of the replacement

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cost of every mile of railroad in the United States. They also overlook the fact that every time the public has invested one dollar in the development of water transportation, they have invested ten in railroading. and are still at it, and the latest move on the part of the railroads is to have the government take them over and pay for them at prices several times in excess of what they are actually worth today in competition with modern highway, waterway and airway transportation, and if the public keeps sending a majority of politicians to Washington instead of statesmen and patriots just that is going to happen.

We have the greatest country on earth, but it came only through patriotic sacrifices and service, and it can be maintained only through the same kind of unselfishness. We need statesmen in public office. President Roosevelt is earnestly trying to help the masses of the people, but he is so enmeshed with politicians and money seekers that it is doubtful that he will get very far. He has the will to save, and he is not afraid, but he lacks that deep understanding of rural life, and its opportunities and rewards, that Teddy had, and which he needs so badly just at this Had he known these things, he would never have signed a measure authorizing the killing of pigs and the ploughing up of cotton and the burning of wheat. With millions of people hungry and cold it is nothing but criminal that such things have been done. This is not the way out of our difficulties, as the President will know before his term expires. It may be an experiment "noble in purpose" but it won't work.

### CHAPTER XX

### PROTESTANT CHURCH DESERTS CHRISTIAN-ITY FOR MOHAMMEDANISM AND PROHIBITION

THE PROHIBITION question has been and will continue to be for a long time a turbulent issue in the South-a rock upon which many a politician and political parson has wrecked his barge, and must continue to look out for. As long as the Protestant Church leadership honestly believed its Bible, and believed that the way to inspire men to be good and temperate was from within, and not by surrounding them with restraining and prohibitory statutes, we made progress towards temperance. During all of this time the Church was envious and jealous of all sensual pleasures and entertainment, but so long as it believed its Bible it continued to influence men's habits and conduct through the power of the Church and not by the police. When it began to send its ministerial students to Northern universities who came under the influence of evolution and science, and who in increasing numbers began to give new and human interpretations, and began trying to explain away the literal meaning of many of its foolish and absurd philosophies, trouble started. When they began to explain away the literal meaning of the story of creation and the Garden of Eden; Moses crossing the Red sea on dry land; Joshua having the sun stand still while he fought a battle; Daniel in the lion's den; Jonah in the whale's belly; a virgin giving birth to a fine baby boy without his having a daddy and that man could honestly force himself to believe something that his reason said was false, the whole temple fell down upon their heads, and great was the crash. Rather than try to build a better temple, these preachers tried to extricate themselves and to find cover in the house of politics and prohibition.

Still having the masses of the people under their control, especially in the rural communities, and the poorer classes of the cities, but not having either the wisdom or the courage to clear away the rubbish of the old temple, or to lead the people in the building of a finer structure, they invited the people to take shelter with them in their new places of refuge, however unsafe they would finally prove to be. The weakness and debauchery of many of our people resulting from the errors and complexities of our social and economic systems furnished the basis and the justification for arousing the sympathies and emotions of the masses of the church membership. When they were once convinced by their church leadership that the power of the civil law and the police was more effective in saving the people from their weaknesses and excesses than patience and enlightened education they arose en masse and took charge of the state. This was the greatest strain that was ever put on civil government since the birth of this nation. We had at that time already glorified the holding of public office, and we had provided for the popular election of United States Senators, which was tending to a pure democracy dominated by the mob. The politicians

realizing that the church had the largest number of votes, they had neither the wisdom nor the unselfish courage to stop and prevent an amalgamation of church and state with the church the victor. Once established in power in the South, its domination spread through the North. Since then the Church has had more confidence in the methods of Mohammed than it has in those of Christ. If you were to tell a Protestant in this country that he has apostacized and deserted Christianity for Mohammedanism he would want to mob you, but anyone familiar with the methods used by Mohammed and Christ to establish their faiths knows this is true. The machinery of government operated by the parson and the politician, under the domination of the Protestant Church, has brought us to the sad state of affairs by which we are now engulfed. If this country is to survive; if we are again to have a government of the people, for the people and by the people, we must return to a separation of Church and State, and this applies with equal force to the Catholic priest in Detroit as it does to the Protestant bishop in Virginia. Public opinion should drive the political parsons out of the civil capitols the same as Christ drove the money changers from the temple. Unless this is done, this great country upon which we have looked as one of the few immortal things which was not born to die, will be an obliterated signboard on the highway of history. The fires of Hell have gone out; intelligent men and women cannot be longer bribed with promises of a Heaven which no one can possibly explain, and this depression is bringing us a little common sense, and we are ask-

ing to know the causes back of effects. In the laboratory of experience our young people, at least, have learned that men cannot be made good and temperate by law. Prohibition even in its worst form may be an economic success, but only a fool or one who is so blinded by prejudice that he refuses to see will claim that it is anything other than a social monstrosity. It has lowered the morals of the South, corrupted politics, and brought contempt and disrespect for all law and constituted authorities. From its early adoption the financial, professional and social leadership of the South has violated the law without any sense of moral wrong. Only the poor white trash and the negroes have been denied the privilege of a drink, or have been embarrassed with prosecution and punished if they dared to exercise the right. But for the fact that there came a political revolution in the South as a result of the depression, this politicoreligious octopus would still have our people within its grip. But when the present Protestant Church leadership gives up politics and prohibition what has it left with which to sustain itself? It has ceased to believe the Bible, and the people can no longer be intimidated by threats of Hell or bribed with promises of "pearly gates and golden streets." As a social institution it offers second rate entertainment. As an educational institution it cannot be trusted, for it now admits that the things that it once taught as facts were the fears and exaggerations of unlearned men. If the Protestant Church leadership had the vision to appreciate that "He who serves his fellow-man best does not serve his god least" and completely

revise and change its philosophy and effort to a religion of humanity—to the making of this world, here and now, the best possible place for man to live in—then there would be some hope for it. Of course, in order for the preachers to extract support and applause from the public without working therefor, they must make the public believe that they are the agents of some supernatural God who will damn them to perdition unless they pay off.

For many years the South was noted for its hospitality and good fellowship. Nothing brings relaxation and enjoyable companionship like sparkling old wines and fine bonded liquors. Since prohibition, the Southern gentleman has had to content himself in the entertainment of his friends with "bust-skull and hooch," and he has not taken it well. These things have just about ruined his reputation as a host, and it is indeed refreshing to contemplate that old time hospitality will again reign throughout Dixie to gladden the hearts of Southern gentlemen.

# CHAPTER XXI

#### PRISON SYSTEM

THE PRISON system of the South has been one of L the worst disgraces that we have ever known, and has brought us much undesirable publicity. That during the past few years there has been an enlightened awakening that is bringing a change is of much gratification to many of our people. The prison system and the abuses and cruelties in our prisons which have come to light from time to time have resulted from a false and barbaric conception of crime and how to prevent and overcome it. Our criminal jurisprudence has been based upon a psychology which stresses the doctrine of legal responsibility. It found its birth in a system of religion which proclaimed the doctrine of moral responsibility. Our statutes and decisions dealing with the subject of criminal responsibility and insanity are predicated upon the hypothesis that anyone capable of distinguishing right from wrong, is amenable to the law, and subject to punishment, if he violates it. Our religious faith, which has largely influenced us in all of our varied activities of life, was based upon a philosophy of fear and punishment, as much, or more, than upon a philosophy of love and service as the highest rewards that could come for correct thought and conduct. The people were taught for ages that the God of their being and salvation was a God of Vengeance, jealous and cruel, whose bounds of persecution upon those who dis-

believed or opposed him were not only visitation of evil in this world, but eternal damnation in the fires of Hell. Any system of jurisprudence and restraint that is founded upon such a philosophy could not help but be infamous. We have wholly overlooked the cause of crime, and in overlooking the cause, we have of course been indifferent to its cure or correction. Until within the past few years we understood nothing of the influence of heredity, disease, physical abnormality, undernourishment, bad environment, unbalanced emotions as tending to crime. The sole test was "Is the individual who is charged with having clashed with society mentally capable of distinguishing right from wrong." If he is, and if the evidence, together with the power of persuasion of the prosecuting attorney, is sufficient to convince a jury of untrained men beyond all reasonable doubt that he committed the act, then he deserves punishment according to a standard that was not fixed by understanding reason and experience, but was fixed by barbaric customs and a religious philosophy which has now been repudiated by the enlightened world.

There are two kinds of criminal offenses, viz; those which are wrong in their very nature, that is mala in se; and secondly, those which are wrong because they are prohibited by man-made laws, that is mala prohibita. I do not believe that people who are normal will commit any offense that is mala in se, and it doesn't make any difference what his state of educational development is. He knows regardless of what the apparent rewards may be to him, he will pay too much for them. As Poor Richard said, "He will pay too

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much for his whistle." He will pay his own self respect, his conscience and peace of mind, and these are without price. It may be argued that he has no self respect or peace of mind? Then he is not normal. As elsewhere stated, I have defended hundreds of men and women charged with crime, and I have never defended one yet who had really committed a crime that was mala in se, who was normal, mentally, physically and emotionally. I have defended men and women who were charged of offenses that were mala prohibita, and for some of them I have had the greatest respect. Society in the mass sometimes is influenced by emotional waves, and while in that mental and emotional state attempt to impose restraints which violate the inalienable rights of the individual. prohibition law, certain forms of the game and fish, and traffic laws are of that character. The Divine Wisdom and Power gave to man such shields of protection as he needs to sustain him through the various vicissitudes of life. He provided for the beating of the heart, the circulation of the blood and the digestion of the food while the mind is asleep or at rest. He provided a shield for the protection of the eve in case of sudden danger before the mind can think. Likewise he endowed every normal man with an emotional or moral shield that saves him from harm and wrong, and this regardless of his mental development. When he does not have this, then he is not normal. Those of us who have earnestly tried to locate the seat and power of this shield or emotion have gone far enough to know that it is greatly influenced, and even may be entirely destroyed, by

heredity, disease, physical impediments, undernourishment, physical injuries and many other things. We have also found out that it is sometimes abnormally positive, and again abnormally negative. We have also learned that no system of punishment ever designed will correct or restore it to a normal function. It takes science, chemistry, nourishment, patience, love and understanding to treat it. One of the great tragedies of the ages is the ignorance and indifference in which the Bar of the World has dealt with this question. The scientists, chemists, physicians and dentists have made remarkable progress for the betterment of mankind during the past hundred years, while we lawyers and politicians have worshiped at the shrine of stare decisis and proclaimed the doctrine of legal responsibility.

A man clashes with society and commits some offense that is mala in se. He is arrested and imprisoned, and charged with the offense under the law. He employs an attorney or the court appoints one to defend him. Upon the trial there is but one issue, and that is, did he commit the act charged. The prosecuting attorney, who is usually an ambitious young fellow trying to make a record to go to Congress, uses all the wit and power that he has to convince the jury that he committed the act. The defense attorney does all that he can to prevent the prosecution from convincing the jury of his guilt. If he is convicted the court sentences him according to the law and he is sent to prison. He remains there until he serves out his term or is pardoned. He is finally released upon society, in most instances with his original abnormali-

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ties made worse instead of corrected, and he goes out of no benefit to himself or his friends and loved ones, but a burden upon society. If he is acquitted in the first instance, but is really abnormal and was guilty, neither he nor society is helped. We should have a capable committee of specialists trained to take every man and woman who clashes with society and is charged with the commission of an offense that is at least mala in se and pull the curtain back and find out what were the causes back of his conduct. On this board there should be a great psychologist, a great criminologist, a great chemist, a great diagnostician, a great surgeon and a great sociologist. When they have found the cause as near as it is humanly possible, then the cure or remedy should be prescribed, and see that the patient takes it. Society has the right to protect itself against viciousness, and in the meantime, if it develops that the patient or unfortunate man, whatever term he may be designated by, is dangerous and vicious, he should be put away and taken care of until he is cured and can be restored to society as a useful member. If he can never be restored upon such basis, then confine him for life, and under such conditions as he may contribute some service of benefit to his dependents and to humanity. If a dispute should arise as to whether he committed the act originally charged, then the jurisdiction of the court should cooperate with the Commission of Specialists in determining this fact. The average criminal lawyer in this country is as wholly unprepared to deal with this great subject as he is to practice chemistry or surgery. Another thing

which we should do, and that is to quit breeding and rearing abnormals and criminals in this country. But this will lead us into a discussion of our social and economic systems further than I have space in this book. I say that compulsory investigation and diagnosis as I have suggested above would so arouse public opinion that we would begin to earnestly seek for the weaknesses in our social and economic systems that are resulting in an increasing army of criminally inclined.

Those who are selected and charged with the duty of executing the sentences imposed by the courts are incompetent to start with. They have had no training that fit them for the treatment and restoration of unfortunate men and women as useful members of society. They secure their positions through political favoritism, and under a mistaken belief that the bigger the bully and the more reckless he has been in the face of physical danger, the better suited he is for a prison guard. Our prison inspectors and physicians are selected because they have some political claim upon the executive or administrative authorities, and by appointing them to what is considered the most irresponsible positions the machine has to offer the obligation is discharged. The shocking tragedies which have come to light from time to time in the prisons of the South are but the maturities of certain bitter fruit that has been growing upon trees which found their nourishment in a political system founded upon sectional and racial prejudice, and in a political system and philosophy that supported and enacted the infamous fugitive slave act of 1850. Under this in-

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famous law it was made the duty of all executive officers to run down and capture all persons who had escaped from slavery and return them to their masters, and any officer who failed in this respect was subject to a penalty of one thousand dollars, to be collected and turned over to the claimant of the slave; and in Section 6 of said act it was provided:

"In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence."

Those who sponsored this act and forced it through the Congress of the United States knew that they were about Hellish business, and were ashamed to use the term "slave" and so they used instead the words "labor or service." It is beyond the comprehension of an intelligent honest human being at this time, North or South, to understand the depths of selfishness and inhumanity of a people who could have the brazen affrontry to write upon the statute books of their country to live throughout history as a testimonial to their savagery such a cruel and infamous law as the fugitive slave act of 1850. Some few men of the same ignorance and inhumanity are prison guards in the South today-placed there by the same political philosophy—whose acts of cruelty have brought shame and disgrace to the South. Most of their victims have been negroes or Northern boys, whom these guards have been taught by their political leadership to hate. And then many young people of the South wonder why the South with its superior climate, resources and opportunities has not advanced any faster. If we had competition in politics based

upon an intelligent discussion of principles, this vicious growth could not have so deeply rooted itself in our body politic. The responsibility for all of this rests with the political demagoguery which has kept aflame such passionate hate solely to advance their own personal ambitions for power and greed; and the Southern press which has lived off the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table, and has made apologies for his depravity, has been equally to blame. When instances of cruelty and murder come to light that shock the civilized world, these political demagogues, and their spineless henchmen, haven't the intellectual honesty and moral courage to confess their sins and the rottenness of the system, but they try to save their political faces, and the machine, and justify their perfidy by all kinds of counter attacks. That the South has and will pay dearly for these things is admitted in deep regret by every intelligent, patriotic citizen. The only hope for the eradication of the system lies in the young people. The fact that those who produced and still try to justify the system are desperately trying to exonerate themselves from all blame is conclusive evidence that there is a growing sentiment for a change.

It must also be remembered that before we are going to completely eradicate this evil from the South, our whole psychology must be changed from one of punishment and cruelty, to one of prevention and restoration. Just so long as it is one of punishment and cruelty, just that long we will at times have savages in charge of our penal systems, and especially so long as we have a one party system and political machine

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primarily interested in saving its power and protecting its graft. That there will be improvement with an improvement of the political situation, which is now certain, is of course, to be expected, but this alone will only modify or ameliorate the symptoms and not remove the cause. If we can ever come to a common agreement that back of every prison cell, back of every hospital bed, back of every unemployed man and back of every underprivileged child there is a cause. for which those who must bear the pain, are not wholly, and probably are not most to blame; then, if we have any humanity about us, and any intelligence, we will begin to discover and remove the cause. Those who split the cow's tail and put salt in it for the purpose of curing the "hollow tail" deserve no more criticism than those who now administer our criminal jurisprudence. Probably they should have cut the cow's tail off, and probably we should exterminate those who clash with society? But would severing the cow's tail improve the constitutional condition of the cow, or extermination of the abnormal improve the organic condition of society? If extermination is the correct course, then let's exterminate all of the insane and those who are afflicted with those forms of disease and maladjustments which the physicians deal with. Our friends, the Eugenists, believe in a certain form of extermination. The trouble with them is they dare not carry their extermination process far enough. The limitations of human wisdom and understanding will ever keep them within only the shadow of the trouble. There is a better course, and one which will not impose such a large sacrifice of

human happiness. One of the outstanding efforts of President Hoover was to try to lead us in making a scientific diagnosis into the cause of crime, disease, unemployment and underprivileged children. Regardless of whatever mistakes and shortcomings may be charged against him concerning other matters, in this effort, noble in purpose, he found his place among the immortal.

Some years ago I was appointed by the court to defend a negro man who was charged with murder, the killing of a negro woman. The evidence showed a vicious killing, but there was some doubt about the premeditation, and it was difficult to find a motive for his act. He made a fairly good witness for himself, and I did all that I could for him, and succeeded in getting him off with a life imprisonment sentence. After I had left the court room and was walking down the street I met up with my family physician. He asked me what was going on at court, and I told him about defending this negro. I incidentally said to him, "I regret to see any one, even an illiterate negro boy, sentenced to life imprisonment. It means the end of him, as well as a burden upon society." From my description of the negro he became interested, and finally said to me, "Let's go back to the jail and see him." We did, and while there, he talked to the boy, had him open his mouth, looked at his eyes, listened to his heart, felt of his pulse, and then said to me, "He has paresis in the last stages and is not responsible for anything." I said, "Doctor, does that mean that he has syphilis?" He answered, "No, not necessarily. He may have it, or he may never have

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had it. Medical science has learned that it has resulted from a poison generated by the syphilitic germ as far back as the third or fourth generation." I asked him if he would testify as to what he had stated to me, and he agreed that he would. I then left him and went and told the judge what I had learned. The judge said, "Well, we do not want to send an insane man to the penitentiary, so you take the matter up with the prosecuting attorney and in the morning we will look into the matter further." I saw the prosecuting attorney, and the next morning we had three doctors examine the negro in the Bar of the Court, and they all stated under oath that he had paresis and was irresponsible. The judge set the conviction aside, empaneled a jury for a lunacy hearing and he was sent to the insane hospital.

The lawyers of this country would be astounded at what the right kind of an examination of those charged with crime would disclose. The public would be astounded at what the right kind of an examination of everybody would disclose. Some day we shall be wise enough to have it, but we first have to get rid of quackery, and that will take more intelligence and courage than we now seem to have. One of the reasons why we have not made any more progress in dealing with the cause and treatment of crime is, that during the past twenty years the vast majority of the ablest members of the Bar have divorced themselves from the criminal practice. Two things have caused this, viz: first, it does not offer as lucrative a field as the civil and corporate practice, and the association is bad; and secondly, the public has come to look upon the criminal lawyer as unworthy of its important social and business confidences. Unquestionably the lawyers have invited this situation, but instead of running away from it, they should have met this great responsibility. If the best talent and character of the legal profession could be returned to a close study and handling of the matter of crime, I feel that we could redeem the profession from its woeful failure in this responsible field. If the highest measure of a lawyer's success is the able manner in which he serves humanity, then he must accept this responsibility, regardless of the personal sacrifices, and he should have the good will and support of the public in his labors. Society is now paying a terrible price for our neglect and selfishness.

Several years ago I was employed or rather appointed by the court to defend a young white man of the charge of robbery. He was about twenty years of age. I took him back into the consultation room, and said to him, "Son, the court has appointed me to defend you, and in order that I may be in a position to help you. I want to ask you some questions and I want you to tell me the truth. Did you rob the man whom they say you did?" He admitted rather reluctantly that he did. I said to him, "Why did you do it?" He replied, "I don't know; just wanted his money I guess." I then asked him, "Do you realize that you are in serious trouble?" His reply was, "I guess so." I then asked him if he had any relatives or friends whom I could get in touch with. He replied, "I don't know whether I have a father or not. If I have. I have never seen him. My mother is dead;

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she died about two years ago." I said, "Tell me about yourself, where were you born and reared, what do you know about your father, who have you been working for, and any information that will enable me to assist you all that I can.', He replied, "I was born and raised in Birmingham. My father and mother separated before I can remember and I have never seen him. My mother worked in a factory there in Birmingham, and she left me with my grandmother. When I got big enough I sold newspapers and then I delivered ice from an ice wagon. I ran a taxi for several years. I don't have any relatives that I know of." I walked back into the court room and related the story to the court. I said, "Judge, this boy doesn't need a lawyer. It is just as natural for him to be abnormal as it is for a duck to swim. He has never known a constructive environment. He appears to have a fairly good body, and probably the foundation for a good mind, but he has never had a chance. He needs a friend, a teacher, a wholesome environment, some one to love him, to show an interest in him, to teach him that there is another side of life. I can't do anything for him here. He admits that he robbed the man because he wanted his money. What am I to do?" The judge replied, "Well, under our system all that I can do is to let you plead him guilty and I will give him the lightest sentence that I can which is two years in the penitentiary." I replied, "And send him on to Hell with the gang." How many tens of thousands of boys and girls have traveled and are traveling the same highway in America today while an incompetent indifferent Church, Bar and

Public proclaim the doctrine of moral and legal responsibility? Our pretensions of Christianity and Legal Justice are but shams and prostitutions as long as we are indifferent to the misery and injustice These boys who travel this highway in around us. the South, and my observations in the North have convinced me that they are not much better, find their way into institutions supervised by political incompetents, and guarded by physical bullies and intellectual embeciles. They are not so much to blame, as the public who tolerates the system. When a man is suffering with some disease or physical ailment, we do not send for the blacksmith. We want a trained physician and nurse, but when he is suffering with some emotional or mental disease we send for a sawmill bully or an ignorant farm hand and arm him with a badge and a gun. I am a Southerner to the core, and I love all the good things about the South, and I am happy to say that they overshadow the bad and stand out in contrast with the bad like the brilliance of the morning star as it gleams amid the intense darkness that precedes the dawn, but whatever the bad are, and they are vastly too many, I am ashamed of them. These bad things have, and will continue until removed, deprived the boys and girls of the South of a fair chance in life.

## CHAPTER XXII

# THE NEGRO AND JURY SERVICE

THE RIGHT of trial by jury is regarded as a sacred right in the South; one of the bulwarks for the preservation of liberty and freedom. In most of the English speaking world it means more than a trial by twelve men. It means a trial by twelve impartial men, duly qualified for jury duty, living within the jurisdictional limits of the court, drawn and selected by disinterested officials.

It is generally admitted that while a litigant or prisoner at the bar has no legal right to demand that only persons of his particular race, sex, religious faith, political party or language compose the jury; or that such persons shall partly compose the jury, it does mean that he has both the legal and moral right to insist that such persons shall not be excluded from the jury because of these things. The South insists that this universal English principle and safeguard for the preservation of liberty and freedom be modified to the extent of excluding all negroes from jury service.

Considerable furor has been created throughout the country from time to time by the attitude of the South concerning the negro for jury service. There has been long and continued, as well as expensive and burdensome litigation resulting from this attitude—a state of affairs which will continue until this question has been rightly and justly settled. A majority

of the white people of the South object to negroes serving on juries. They cannot give any sound reasons for this objection, but they object just the same. Their objections are founded in tradition and prejudice, because the negro was once the white man's slave, and their attitude brings issues and clashes which do considerable damage and harm.

The objection is founded purely upon racial prejudice, or rather a prejudice which I believe has its origin in something else and which expresses itself as racial prejudice. I make the bold and fearless charge that all prejudices, especially racial, religious and political, result from unadulterated ignorance. There can be no better evidence of this fact than the bitter abuse and acrimony which will be directed at me by a certain element in the South when this chapter is published. If prejudice has any other parents than ignorance I have not been able to discover them. Ignorance gives birth to both prejudice and selfishness; and the racial prejudice in the South, wherever it exists, and which expresses itself in our attitude towards the negro as a race for jury service is nothing more nor less than the child of ignorance.

I am opposed to any ignorant man or any man of bad character and reputation, be he white, colored, brown, yellow or red, serving on juries. But negroes are excluded from jury duty in the South solely because they are negroes, while it is a notorious fact that many ignorant and incompetent white men are selected in sufficient numbers to impose a serious burden on the administration of justice. These incompetent white men are selected because they happen

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to be the personal or political friends or henchmen of the boss who controls the making up of the jury rolls. Every Southern lawyer knows that this is true.

These political bosses, be they Democrats or Republicans, are afraid of public opinion, or perhaps they remain bosses because they cater to public opinion. So they deliberately and intentionally refuse to select any negroes for jury duty; although they are willing to hamper the administration of justice by selecting many white men who are too ignorant to have any qualifications whatever to discharge the true functions of a juror. They do this for personal and political reasons.

It cannot be denied that there are many negroes in all of the Southern states who are intelligent, honest and patriotic and who are in every sense qualified for jury service. They are denied their right to serve solely because they are negroes.

The able practitioner tries to overcome the burden of incompetent jurors by the use of the right of challenge, for cause or peremptory, but even this cannot equalize the undoubted prejudice of an all white jury trying some unfortunate negro, many times for his life. Can a negro secure a fair and impartial trial under such conditions? Is such a trial justified by reason, equity, fairness, common sense, liberty, freedom, legal history or anything else except barbaric prejudice and cussedness? Does such a trial harmonize with our boasted humanity and Christianity when we shout from our Churches "do unto others as we would have them do unto us?" There can be but one answer—NO.

It does not even harmonize with our boasted chivalry and sportsmanship. We Southerners who stand up and defend the right of trial by jury until we are red in the face, and who write beautiful treatises and decisions as to the sacredness of this right, object to any negroes serving on juries, even when a negro is on trial or even when all the parties to the litigation are negroes. Were the proposition ever made to try one of us; or to have any litigation whatever in which one of us was interested, by a jury composed entirely of men of another race, our cries would reach to the high Heavens. And if our own race were intentionally excluded I hesitate to imagine what would happen.

Many times the white jury which tries a negro is not only unfriendly, but openly antagonistic. This is certain to be true if the issues to be tried or determined have anything to do with the sex relations between the races. Then the trial becomes a tragedy—the verdict a foregone conclusion, and the only safeguard that the negro has whatever lies in the trial judge. But however fair and able the judge may be, this is not a trial by an impartial jury of the prisoner's peers.

Many times the white jury who tries the negro, especially in assault cases, have the feeling in their souls, even if they do not express it, and go so far as to prejure their conscience on the *voir dire* examination, that "the damn nigger ought to be lynched." Then when constitutional rights are invoked by the negro's friends and counsel these same jurors bristle with sectional and racial hate.

Our Southern law books are full of definitions and

constructions which guard and preserve this sacred bulwark of English liberty for the white man. Neither do we hesitate to seek the sheltering arm of the Federal constitution when we deem it necessary to maintain this right for the Southern white man. A careful study of the decisions of our Supreme Courts concerning the limits of the jurisdiction of the respective courts of law and equity, and an understanding of the expansion of the jurisdiction of the law courts in order to broaden and extend the right of trial by jury, will disclose with what zeal and fervor we have guarded the right of trial by jury for the white man. It is rather strange that we should demand all this for ourselves and deny all of it to the negro. Such an attitude does not square with justice and fairness, and cannot and will not stand the test of time.

And the most tragic thing about all of this is the fact that the enlightened element of our Southern people know that this policy is fundamentally wrong, unjust and illegal, and yet for some mysterious reason hidden in politics, tradition or superstition they haven't the moral courage to come out and say so, or to take the necessary steps to correct the situation.

Many times when the question is raised in a motion to quash the jury on the grounds that negroes were intentionally left off the jury rolls, the court officials charged with the duty of compiling the rolls take the stand and under oath testify that while it may be true that there are no names of negroes on the jury rolls and no negroes are ever selected for jury service, they were not omitted intentionally or because of any racial prejudice. Judges many times know that

such is the situation, but they are afraid of public opinion, and they do not do anything about it. These officials have learned that if they admit that they intentionally exclude all negroes from the jury lists that the Supreme Court of the United States will declare the trial a nullity, and consequently they try to get around this by denying that negroes are intentionally left off.

The South has received and will continue to receive much damaging criticism until its leadership has the courage to correct this situation, and to get into harmony not only with our Federal Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, but in harmony with justice and right and the sacred principles of liberty and freedom.

The only way to preserve this sacred bulwark of liberty and freedom is by selecting juries of intelligence, character and patriotism irrespective of race or anything else save their mental and moral fitness to serve. In conclusion I admit that I express and represent a minority opinion on this question, but that minority sentiment is growing because it is right, and right will sometime have beneath its banner the majority sentiment. Until that time I shall be satisfied to wait and suffer whatever abuse may be directed at me by the majority who do not now agree with me.

# CHAPTER XXIII

#### KU KLUX KLAN

THE KU KLUX KLAN was first organized in the South after the Civil War to wrest political and official control from the hands of the negro. Many good men became members of it, but after it had done this, then it came under the control of characters who used it for oppression and cruelty. Its outrages became of such national concern that President Grant determined to stamp it out. He had the support of many good men who had formerly been members of it, but who realized that it had served its usefulness. President Grant succeeded in having many of its leaders arrested and imprisoned in Montgomery, Alabama, and in other Southern cities. Finally upon their agreeing to disband and cease their lawlessness he released them. One of the men who was imprisoned at Montgomery told me a number of years ago that while they were imprisoned many negroes came around the jail and peeked through the windows like chickens looking at a snake and chided them by saying "Ku Klux, Ku Klux!" He stated that he was never so mad in all his life, but that when he was released he had learned his lesson, and was so glad to be out of that place that he had never taken any further interest in the Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan which came into being after the World War was purely a commercial and political institution. The white people were in complete con-

trol of the government of the South. It was conceived in selfishness and greed for money, and in lust for political power. It was born in ignorance and nourished on racial and religious prejudice. It found its support behind Protestant bigotry and intolerance and political demagoguery. It plied its trade in the darkness of the night and violated every principle and tenet of constitutional liberty and freedom. Its pretended championing of virtue, morality and prohibition was rank hypocrisy and only decoyed the public mind from its major monstrosities. It maintained a lobby at the capitol of the country and sought to dominate the Government. It furthered its selfishness by appealing to the passions and prejudices of the ignorant against the negro, the Catholic and the Jew, while its leaders consorted with them for political power. In 1928 a Jew friend of Mr. Hoover, Louis Strouse of New York, was the financial contact man between the Republican campain forces in Washington (Walter Brown et al) and the Hoover-Democrats of the South (the K. K. K.'s) while W. F. Zumbrum of Washington, general counsel for the Klan, was the contact man between said Republican forces and the negroes of the South. Louis Strouse, Mr. Hoover's Iew friend, came to Florida in 1928 and in the George Washington hotel in Jacksonville had an extended conference with Dr. I. E. Phillips, parson and High Mogul of the Klan in Florida, and through the said Dr. Phillips arranged for the support of the Klan in Florida. Glenn Skipper, who was later Republican National Committeeman for Florida, told me that the consideration paid to Dr. Phillips was \$36,000.00,

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but I have no personal information, as to the amount. When the Republican State convention was held in Daytona on May 10, 1928 to elect delegates to the National Convention instructed for Mr. Hoover, Dr. Phillips directed the show from a hotel room, and he had seven hundred of his tried and true followers from the swamps and bushes of Florida there on hand to do whatever was necessary to send the delegates to the convention for Mr. Hoover. Mr. Hoover not only knew all about these arrangements, but approved and consented to their methods of operation, and actively encouraged the organization of separate "Hoover-Democratic" (Klan) campaign organizations. When Bill Howey, Republican candidate for governor for Florida and other Republican candidates, insisted that all campaign activities should be conducted through and under the regular Republican organization Mr. Hoover became very angry. other words Mr. Hoover deliberately betrayed the Republican leadership of the South during the 1928 campaign and encouraged and consorted with those Hoover-Democratic or Klan organizations which he knew were predicated absolutely upon religious and racial prejudice. But after the election was over, and he was safely anchored for four years in the big chair in the White House he was ashamed to be seen consorting with the Klan leadership and he repudiated them as though they were a bunch of illegitimate babies with mulatto mammies. No wonder that Col. Horace Mann, their leader and idol, deserted them and joined the Catholic Church, as it at least offered some hope of consistency and gratitude.

During the campaign of 1928 the leading negro politicians of the South—Perry Howard of Mississippi and Ben Davis of Georgia—were known to have been in frequent conferences with W. F. Zumbrum, General Counsel for the Klan. Zumbrum boasted that if he wanted any special favors at the Department of Justice he always called his good negro friend Perry Howard, Howard being safely entrenched there until his influence in securing the Mississippi delegation to the National Convention was no longer needed.

The candidacy of Governor Alfred E. Smith resulted in destroying the Ku Klux Klan, the greatest of all American frauds, and in doing this he rendered his country a greater service than he could have done had he been president for eight years.

While the Klan was at its height of glory and power in the South, one of its members became seriously ill. He sent for his physician, who after carefully examining him told him that he was a very sick man, and that he was going to die, and that if he had any business to wind up in this world he had better attend to it. After the doctor left, the sick man sent for the High Cyclops of the Klan. When he came the sick man said to him. "I want to get out of the Klan. My doctor tells me that I am going to die and that I cannot hope to live but a very few days, and I do not want to die in the Klan." The Cyclops replied, "What is the matter, isn't the Klan good enough to live in, and if it is good enough to live in, isn't it good enough to die in?" The sick man answered, "Well it may be good enough to live in, but I want to go to Heaven when I die,

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and no Klansman can ever get into Heaven." The Cyclops replied, "How is that?" The sick man said, "You know St. Peter is a Catholic and Jesus Christ is a Jew, and no Klansman can ever get by that guard." The sick man got out of the Klan, and later he died, but did he go to Heaven?

# CHAPTER XXIV

#### EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM of the South has been very greatly improved. We are making real sacrifices and real progress in our schools and colleges. The one room log school house with its stick and dirt chimney and hewn log seats has given away to modern school buildings designed by trained architects, fully equipped with the latest facilities and conveniences. In most Southern states the consolidated rural school system has been put in force, with transportation facilities of the very best. There are of course, exceptions to this, but they are now very few, and will soon disappear entirely. In other words, our material and physical educational facilities are not only good, but very good.

The improvement in the curricula, psychology and philosophies of our educational system has only been surpassed by the progress made by our physicians, dentists, and chemists. But great as has been the progress in education in the South, the system is greatly handicapped by political and Church domination and intrigue. The Boards of Supervision and Control, as well as the faculties, are very largely the creations of political favoritisms, and are under the constant domination and pressure of political and Church organizations. This results not only in an army of incompetent officials and teachers, but a use-less waste of time and money. Our primary and

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junior schools especially are burdened with flapper girl teachers who have never been students and have absolutely no fitness or qualifications to teach. They secure their positions on the faculties through political and personal pull.

The Protestant Church claiming to have the only key to the temple of knowledge and wisdom have sought to prescribe the course of study and direct the instruction. It has lobbied through many of our legislatures laws restricting the teaching of science and many other subjects which do not agree with some of the Jewish superstitions of the Old Testament. The Church objects to the student studying or investigation of both or all sides of every question. It has lost the power to convince the young people of the truthfulness of its philosophies and superstitions through the Sunday School and the pulpit, and having deserted Christianity and gone off after Mohammedanism, it resorts to the police and the sword to enforce its doctrines. Our spineless, sheep-minded legislators who are strangers to real knowledge, as well as real Christianity, but who are very anxious to continue to draw their ten dollars per diem and the graft that goes with it yield to the demands of the Church and violate every fundamental principle of true education, while at the same time they violate both the spirit and the letter of the Constitution by enacting laws forcing the reading of the Bible in the schools. The result is that there is not a High School in the South which prepares a boy or girl to meet the problems of life and at the same time to enter college. And very few of our colleges are much better in this respect.

As elsewhere stated, I have had a thousand or more unhappy married people come to me during my twenty years as a lawyer, and I do not hesitate to say that if the high schools had done their duty while those people were under their care, at least ninety-five per cent of them would have escaped the things which brought them misery. The schools were forbidden by the Church to teach the boys and girls the most important information they can have between the cradle and the grave. They got their information from the scandal monger in the back alley, and they paid dearly for it.

I finished high school in a county in Alabama that has more fine building materials of all kind than any county in the United States of its size. There is every kind of building stone, including marble, and the Creator quarried enough of them into all shapes and sizes to build every building in the capitol city of our country. It also has inexhaustible quantities of fine sands, clays, cement and limestone rock, and millions upon millions of feet of yellow pine and hardwood timber, and up until ten years ago there were less than a dozen buildings in the county constructed of anything other than vellow pine. The people did not know how to use those fine materials for the building of their homes, and the schools made no effort to teach them. The farmer boys finished high schools without knowing anything whatever to do with the marvelous resources around them. For this reason they hesitated to return to the farm but sought to establish themselves in the city.

Our Southern Universities have woefully failed to

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survey and chart the resources of their respective states, and then teach young people how to use them. We have stressed scholastic and literary training and have neglected those branches of study which qualify the young people to find contentment and comfort in the rural communities. The Universities of the South would do well to ascertain the system and methods used by the University of Wisconsin, and learn how to survey all of the resources and opportunities of their respective states, and then teach the young people how to use them. Our rivers, creeks, branches, lakes, ponds, minerals, timber, soils, and other resources should be carefully surveyed by the Universities, and charted, and this information kept available for the use and study of the students and the public at all times. The University of Wisconsin is a veritable storehouse of information, not only theoretical information but information and facts concerning the resources and opportunities of the state. might be claimed that they haven't the finances with which to do this, but they have, -and they also have the time, and the boys and girls would find this work most interesting and beneficial. Our schools are slaves to grades, units and credits, and we sacrifice too much time worshiping at these shrines. We need to know facts, the facts that concern us in life, and we need to know them thoroughly. One of the ablest and best educated men in the South is Senator George of Georgia. His father told me some years ago that when his son was in grammar, high school and college. he impressed upon his teachers that he was not interested in grades, units and credits, but that he wanted

his boy to master thoroughly every subject he took up. In other words, with him, "almost right is always wrong."

We have stressed professional training too much in the South. We have far too many lawyers, physicians and dentists. We have looked upon a professional career as the highest sphere that a young man could attain. We have done this because we have neglected surveying and charting our resources, and then teaching the young people how to use them to find happiness and independence. rural life of the South by reason of our matchless year-around climate and vast natural resources can be made the finest and most independent of any place on this earth and the responsibility to bring this about rests upon the schools and colleges. When they do their duty in this respect the professions will not be crowded with incompetents who are now failures, as well as a burden to themselves and parasites upon The larger percentage of our physicians have had some training in Northern hospitals, and they have and are doing more to elevate our standards than any other calling in the South. They have sought for the truth and they have not been hampered by superstitions and prejudices. Our law schools have wholly failed to teach the cause of crime and delinquency. Our law graduates are not grounded in accountancy, finance, business administration, political economy and the science of government, and thousands of them are turned out every year woefully deficient in many of the vital subjects with which the lawyer has to deal in his practice and as a citizen and

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legislator. We need quality in our professions and not quantity, but we are not going to get quality until we greatly modify both our system and the psychology of education. The notion that any boy can become a lawyer, physician or dentist just because his parents desire for him to practice some one of these professions is very erroneous, and results in tragic failure for thousands of boys who would succeed in some other vocation. We need some system of analysis and selection whereby we can determine early in the life of the student what he is especially talented for, and then we should direct the future training of the boy or girl along the line for which he or she is best suited. In doing this we should ever keep in mind that the true purpose of education is not to make money, hold more honorable public positions and dominate our fellowman,-but that a body and mind rightly and richly trained has within it the elements of peace and joy, as well as the tools with which to provide from the forces and resources of nature sufficient to take care of our material wants and needs, and with which to serve humanity in the highest sense according to our talents and capacities. When this shall be our educational psychology, then we shall look upon all needful work as ennobling and pleasant. I know of no other psychology that will save the womanhood of our country and thereby preserve the hope of our race. We now have an army of millions of childless women, a larger percentage of whom are the finest specimens of womanhood of America, who are forced into economic slavery and a condition that is unnatural, denied the sweetest and dearest sentiments of womanhood-

that of being a considerate and affectionate wife, a tender and loving mother, in a home of respect. When they seek, or are forced into a professional or business career, they do so because of a feeling of doubt and uncertainty resulting from social and economic conditions for which our educational system and leadership are largely responsible.

The athletic system of our schools seriously reflects upon them, but this is important because it is only a symptom of evils for which the school management is not entirely, and probably not mostly to blame. Undoubtedly our educators permit this abuse to continue in self defense of a political incompetency at the point where our school revenue is provided. It certainly cannot be justified from any standpoint of physical training, mental development or moral betterment. It must be wholly a financial expediency. If so, then "we are paying too much for our whistle." Any system of athletics which goes beyond the normal development of the student is wrong, and any system that falls short of this for the largest number of students should not be tolerated. To contend that it must be used as a magnet to attract boys to college is absurd. Any boy who must be attracted to college by such a means would be just as well off at home, and the boy who is really interested in securing an education would be much better off for the money and effort that the other is wasting and which could be used for him.

## CHAPTER XXV

## AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK

DEING assured of the possibilities of health, eradi-B cation of disease, crime, debauchery and superstition; being assured of an abandonment of Mohammedanism or a religion of force and a return to Christianity or a religion of love and vicarious sacrifice working in harmony and unison with science and intelligence teaching us how to live; being assured of social, political and economic freedom for the negro that will enable the development of a great negro race within its own racial bounds and in complete harmony and understanding with the white race; being assured of competition under a two-party system in politics that will bring honesty, efficiency and economy in government and all public affairs; being assured of a social system that will have its highest purpose the development of manhood and womanhood, then what of the agricultural and industrial and commercial outlook for the South? The bedrock still of all social, political and economic progress is man's inherent instinct and desire to possess or own property, and especially a home, that he can call his own. Any system of sociology, politics or economics which denies or fails to recognize this must fail. Regardless of the various socialistic panaceas which are now agitating the mind of the world, and which has its center in Soviet Russia, and all of them which try to violate or eradicate man's natural desire to

possess and have dominion over some piece of land and some property that he can call his own in exclusion of the rest of the world, will finally be only wrecks of debris on the highway of history.

The change in the South from the one crop system of producing only cotton with negro labor to one of diversification under individual initiative with the land owner, be he white or colored, as both master and servant, has resulted, as I have heretofore explained in the Federal Land Banks, Insurance and Mortgage Companies, and other large corporations, owning millions and millions of acres of the finest farm lands in the South. Hundreds of thousands of negroes and whites also left these farms and sought to establish residence and find employment in our cities of both the North and the South, which has brought about conditions and problems that now threaten the security not only of them, but of millions of others as well. I dare say that a majority of these, as well as millions of others, would now like to return to the soil if they had the capital and the facilities with which to do so. Their resources are so depleted that there is no way for them to get out on the farms unless they have some help. For the owners of these lands to attempt to develop and farm them with these unemployed on a salary basis would mean commercialism pure and simple, and could not help but end in failure and loss for all concerned. To rent these farms on a share crop basis would not furnish the assistance needed, and would lower, rather than raise our standard of rural life. This must not be for the good of the nation. If the owners of these lands try to keep them for an

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indefinite period waiting for an upward trend in conditions and values, is both expensive and unfair and of detriment to the masses who need them, as well as to the South and the country at large. Taxes are constantly maturing, and the condition of the unemployed in our cities is certainly not getting better, and unless some relief comes soon, will place an unbearable burden upon local and national charities, and inevitably lead to a dole or to revolution.

Many of our financial leaders have sent billions of dollars into foreign countries in speculative activities and industry, and they are now worrying about ever collecting their money. Many others are hoarding billions of dollars under the pretext that they have no safe profitable outlet for their money. Some of our large banks have assumed this unwise and parasitic attitude. This feeling and attitude results from fear and a lack of understanding of fundamental facts. The wealth and credits of this country are too largely dominated by urban minds which know more about Europe and the rest of the world than they do about their own country. Their money is therefore in hoarding and is not working. They are waiting for Europe or South America or Asia to come back. I do not claim to be an economist or a financial wizard, but I do confess that I have a good deal of common sense, and I have had lots of observation and experience. If some intelligent, capable organization and leadership can be created to develop a basis of operation between the owners of the lands and those having the idle capital for the development of the lands along modern lines, by the building of clean attractive homes and

other buildings, and by the providing of highways, light, telephone, radios, schools and such other agencies as will make the people happy and contented, it will be found that those owning the lands can dispose of them at fair prices, and the idle capital invested will be absolutely safe and will earn a fair return, and millions of people will begin to live responsible independent lives. Such an organization will find an almost unlimited outlet for these farms properly developed and improved, as well as having a glorious opportunity for public service. Our methods of charity and temporary relief through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other similar agencies are only boring a hole in the poor cow's horn and putting a little medicine in there, or splitting her tail and putting a little salt in there for the purpose of treating the "hollow horn" or "hollow tail." They are not removing the cause, and until we remove the cause, we are going to have the symptoms. Tens of thousands of both white and colored would move out on these farms and find independence and happiness, and this would relieve the strain now in our cities. The initial work of building modern houses, and in providing modern facilities for work and culture has got to be done, if at all, under some plan or system of regimentation and cooperation between the landowners, those having the idle capital and those who are now unemployed. I believe that the formulation and execution of such a plan as I have suggested, offers one of the greatest opportunities for real leadership in America today.

The thing that enters the minds of many of our

financiers is, what security will the purchaser of a home offer? In answer to that let me say, that the best securities ever offered or that ever will be offered for credit are integrity, ability and real estate. These plus the unfortunate experiences of unemployment and suffering in the city, together with an innate love for a home, constitute the best security on earth for the payment of such a farm. Unless these securities are good, it will not be long until all other securities, including our municipal and governmental bonds, will have but little or no value. Many of our financial institutions have been foreclosing and taking the people's homes away from them en masse during this depression. Such a policy is wrong and emanates from pathetic ignorance and selfishness. The land barons of medieval Europe, and the political autocrats of France and Russia turned a deaf ear to the suffering and the pleadings of the people until it was too late. I pray that those terrible conditions may not be repeated in America. The answer lies, not with the masses of humanity who are industrial slaves and cannon fodder in this country, but with those who have power and capital and fail to use it in the interest of humanity.

The statement is made that there is an "over-production" and for this reason there is no justification for agricultural expansion in this country. This false and viscous idea is retarding our economic recovery and prosperity more than anything else. There are only two things that we have an over-production of, and they are ignorance and selfishness. Stagnation and starvation have resulted from maladjustments and abortive use of capital. I am opposed to coopera-

tion or regimentation of agriculture in the sense that it is practiced in Russia, but unless the financial and political leadership of the country assume some of the responsibility and help in rehabilitating agriculture in this country under individual initiative, we may see that or something worse. I do not subscribe to the doctrine for I think it is visciously false that we must have either a vassal agriculture under the individualistic system or an industrialized agriculture under the socialistic system. Industrialization of agriculture will mean centralization, political or financial. Centralization inevitably leads to tyranny and decay. With the proper adjustment between supply and demand and a fair and equitable use of capital and credits, we can have, and must have, if this country is to endure, a happy, prosperous and patriotic agriculture founded upon individual initiative. The power of individual initiative has been destroyed for the time being largely by reason of political incompetency and unbridled greed.

When Southern agriculture has been placed on the basis which I have suggested above, and the climatic and soil conditions are most favorable for it, it will then give stimulus to the industrial and commercial development to the cities of the South, and this will provide great opportunities in many lines. The negro quarters and the white slums and tenement districts in our cities present problems and opportunities for an almost unlimited volume of capital and labor. The first purpose of society should be the development of manhood and womanhood, but we have overlooked this in the use of our capital with which to still grasp

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for more. If we will get back to the building of a greater American, or a greater America, we will find that the rewards will be larger and more enduring.

The South has all the raw materials in minerals, timbers, water power, fuel, cotton, etc., out of which to build a great diversified commerce and industry, and the equitable climate and labor conditions make this possible at the lowest cost, but I believe that our industrial and commercial prosperity should be initiated with and be very largely based upon, a happy and prosperous agriculture. The farm homes of the South should be as attractive and comfortable as those of our cities, and we have the facilities here to make them such. They should lead in education and culture, and when we shall have such agriculture, not only in the South, but throughout the nation, it will serve as a bulwark against every social, political and economic storm that may come. The owners of these vast millions of acres, together with those having idle capital, now have an opportunity to lead the way for a finer civilization if they will use a little wisdom and unselfishness.

In concluding this book, I desire to say that within these pages I have earnestly tried to present facts and issues that will challenge my people to think; also, that will inspire the North to earnestly try to understand us. Superstitions and prejudices, North and South, should be forgotten. I do not expect every one to agree with me. Many years ago I learned that there are no two things just alike. The creative wisdom and power gave us variety in the physical world. Man's beliefs and opinions are but the fruits of his experi-

ence. No two people have had or can have the same experiences. The pages of this book reflect some insight into what mine have been. If my observations, experiences and conclusions as reflected within these pages shall be instrumental in helping to turn any substantial number of boys and girls toward a fuller life, and a deeper love for all sections of our great country, I shall feel amply rewarded. I know that millions of people, North and South, both white and colored, face the future in doubt and uncertainty. My heart goes out to them, one and all. I would suggest to them some of my own experiences while traveling in a mountainous country: I have often seen great mountain chains that when first seen at a distance appeared to present impassable barriers, but my faith in those who had gone before caused me to journey on, and when I finally reached the foothills I found a river. creek or some smaller stream along which my road wound its way to a higher and still higher level, and as the river or creek faded into a smaller brook. I followed its course to a pass that led to the other side. Such is life. The things which appear dark and impregnable at a distance will become less difficult the nearer we approach, if we but have the faith to journey on. Therefore, my friends who feel that they would like to come South and find happiness and independence, but who have been afraid of disease, social, religious, political or economic barriers, can cast these doubts aside, and come into the South with absolute assurance that here is every resource and natural condition with which to build the greatest civilization on this earth. With brains and capital the South will

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become the Eldorado of this continent. The boys and girls of the South now realize that they need the help and cooperation of the boys and girls of the North. Millions of boys and girls of the North need to come South and help to develop the great natural advantages and share in the rewards. Our invitation to them to come is sincere and earnest. Whatever mistakes have been made in the past by either South or North should no longer estrange us. Twice since the Civil War the boys of the South and the boys of the North, on many major fields of honor, have atoned for the mistakes of the past. We have both earned and now merit from each other friendship and cooperation. Whatever obligations we owe the negro race, the enlightened wisdom of the future only knows, but whatever they are, together we shall face them bravely, and discharge them in understanding. Our forefathers dreamed of a "More Perfect Union." We love and bless the North for preserving it, and for making it possible for us to help interpret their dream and vision into reality. In its realization we shall both feel the deepest emotions of patriotism, and in its enjoyment we shall both reap the highest awards as Americans.

THE END.



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